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The Shape of Things

THERE IS REASON TO HOPE THAT BY THE time these comments appear the Senate will have saved the United States from making itself dangerously ridiculous in the eyes of the world. It can do so only by canceling the enormous mischief achieved by the House last week when that chamber voted to reduce the authorized appropriation for the first year of the European Recovery Program by more than one-fourth. After months of the most thorough study and the most extensive hearings, both houses agreed in April to authorize an appropriation of $5.3 billions for the first twelve months of E. R. P. This was less than the minimum asked by the Administration, but its effect on Europe was nevertheless profound. It provided the basis for the proposed economic union of Western Europe, and was no doubt a weighty factor in prompting the Soviet leaders to put out feelers, however crude, for a political settlement with this country. With so much accomplished by the mere promise of adequate aid, along comes the Appropriations Committee of the House, headed by the ineffably provincial Mr. Taber, and, apparently without any idea of the consequences of its action, decides to reduce the fund to an even five billion for a period of *fifteen* months. This slash would, in Secretary Marshall's words, alter the program from "one of reconstruction to one of mere relief." What is worse, the House, in a burst of irresponsibility, rushes the bill through without a roll call, as though it were dealing with an appropriation for a fourth-class postoffice. Senator Vandenberg has announced his intention to fight the cuts in the upper chamber. He will have to work effectively if he is to wipe off those "smiles of derision" that Representative Rayburn already sees "in the Politburo in Moscow."

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WHAT PRESIDENT TRUMAN SAYS ON HIS Western trip may be less important than what Candidate Truman finds out. His five major speeches may of course put Republican Congressional leaders in an embarrassing position as they crowd the session to a close with most of their pledges unredeemed. But it is improbable, to say the least, that the President's jaunt will cause any significant upsurge in his prospects for November. On the other hand, Mr. Truman as a candidate may learn much that was hidden from him in an over-insulated White House, and if he is at all sensitive, this may have a real bearing on the elections of 1948. However non-political the trip may be labeled, the fact is that the President will come face to face with party leaders who are in a position to tell him some hard truths. He has already met Jack Arvey, the Chicago boss who is out to draft General Eisenhower. In California, he will discover how deeply the Wallace party has cut into Democratic ranks. He may even hear from James Roosevelt how tenuous a hold he has on that state's convention delegates, who want nothing more than a chance to break their commitment to the President and go over to the General. Mr. Truman is a stubborn man, with the curious notion that it would be somehow cowardly for him to renounce a nomination that is, after all, not yet his to renounce. The plea of a friendly Missourian that Mr. Truman withdraw brought the tart reply that he was not "brought up to run from a fight"—as though the issue lay not between his party and the opposition but between himself and his party. In spite of the President's embarrassingly insistent demand for the nomination, there are good observers in Washington who now believe he will let this trip decide his course, that he will step aside if he detects a lack of enthusiasm for his candidacy. But self-deception being an occupational disease of candidates, we are less than hopeful.

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FEWER THAN HALF OF THE DEMOCRATIC voters in California's primary on June 1 marked an "X" for the slate of delegates pledged to Harry S. Truman, an indication of how the President stands among his partisans in a key state. More significant, perhaps, was the outcome in the various Congressional primaries. In Southern California, Chet Holifield and Clyde Doyle, both liberal Democrats who refused to cross-file as candidates of Henry Wallace's Independent Progressive Party, won only their own party's designation and accordingly face a three-cornered fight in November. Helen Gahagan Douglas, who likewise refused to cross-file with the I. P. P., appears certain of election nevertheless. Running far ahead of all other Democratic candidates in the state, she succeeded, by a slender margin, in winning the Republican nomination also, just as Holifield did two years ago. Her campaign was largely concerned with the cost of living, which would thus

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appear to be a weak spot in the Republican armor. Liberal Democrats Ellis Patterson and Ned Healy, who cross-filed on all three tickets, won both the Democratic and I. P. P. nominations, but will have to face G. O. P. opposition in the fall. In a generally light vote, the Wallace party failed in most districts to make an impressive showing. It would perform a useful service by withdrawing its candidates in the Holifield and Doyle districts rather than let those two good Representatives go down to needless defeat.

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WITH THE PRESIDENT OUT OF THE WAY AND Loy Henderson still in charge at the State Department, one can almost hear the termites nibbling at the frail supports of our so-called Palestine policy. Nothing whatever is being done to give substance to American de facto recognition of the provisional government of Israel. On the contrary, the British are cleverly utilizing the present phase of the struggle—while the war rages and Count Bernadotte tries to pin down terms for the agreed-upon truce—to popularize the idea that new political solutions for Palestine are in the works. The London *Times*, for example, and even the Manchester *Guardian* have hinted that the Jewish state should be willing to surrender certain parts of its territory; that the boundaries as laid down by the U. N. last November are still subject to change. This sort of rumor, calculated to weaken Israel's position and encourage Arab defiance of the United Nations, can do untold damage if America continues to hedge. Having tumbled over itself to give Israel de facto recognition before the Soviet Union could act, is the United States now prepared to accept a compromise along lines laid down by Mr. Bevin? Only prompt de jure recognition by Washington will dispel the suspicion that this is so. Incidentally, Russia's recognition of the new state was de jure rather than de facto. Why does the United States hold back?

✶

FAILING TO REPEAL THE PROVISION OF THE Reclamation Act that restricts benefits to small family-size farms, the House of Representatives has tacked an exceptionally crude "rider" on the Interior Department's appropriation bill. The Senate now is confronted with a choice of accepting the "rider," attempting to work out a last-minute compromise with the House Appropriations Committee, or rejecting the measure entirely, leaving the department without funds. The "rider," providing that the Reclamation Commissioner and his key subordinates must have ten years of engineering experience, is designed to eliminate Commissioner Michael Strauss and Richard Boke, regional director for California. Both these officials have rigorously applied the 160-acre limitation of the law. By driving from office those officials

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who do not tacitly agree to sabotage this provision, Congress would in effect repeal by stealth a regulation it has not dared to repeal openly and on its merits. Another obnoxious "rider" to the same bill would remove from the payroll any official "whose activities include efforts to obtain power contracts with customers who already have an existing adequate source of power supply." The intention here, apparently, is to tie up the power generated at Shasta Dam for the exclusive benefit of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Apart from what this devious technique reveals about the Republican position on reclamation, it further emphasizes the extent to which the Appropriations Committee has come to usurp the functions both of the legislative committees of Congress and of the executive branch of the government. Not only does this blackmail device make serious inroads on the President's power of appointment, but in effect it robs him of the constitutional prerogative of the veto. He signs the bill on the committee's terms or the Interior Department ceases to function.

*

IT IS NOT INAPPROPRIATE THAT THE *DAILY Népszava,* a Hungarian newspaper published in America, should have been taken over by a group of reactionary Hungarian exiles. The *Népszava,* in its fifteen years of existence, has managed to play it safe. When Horthy was in undisputed power in Hungary, it supported him. When Hitler took over, it absolved Horthy of blame and attributed his obvious collaboration to the nefarious politicians behind him. When Hungary, still under Horthy, declared war on the United States, it managed at one and the same time to be pro-Horthy and pro-Ally. With the defeat of Hitler and the occupation of Hungary by the Red Army, *Népszava* attacked the new pro-Russian regime without criticizing too harshly those Horthy left-overs who joined the coalition Cabinet. After the resignation of Mr. Nagy and his colleagues, this ambivalence was no longer necessary; outright hostility to the Budapest regime became the dominant mood in Washington and was faithfully reflected in the "oldest and largest" Magyar-language daily. And now it has come into the hands of a group, headed by Tibor Eckhardt, whose only stock in trade is hatred of Russia and opposition to Budapest. Eckhardt, as *Nation* readers know, is a veteran of the early days of the Horthy terror: an anti-Semite, and member of the infamous Awakening Magyars. The others represent various shades of reaction. Their purchase of *Népszava* portends little change, but we cannot help feeling that President Truman might have refrained from honoring the occasion with a letter to *Népszava's* publisher—printed on its front page—hailing the new administration of the paper in the name of Louis Kossuth and the democratic traditions of America.

THE NEW WAVE OF FASCIST TERROR sweeping Spain reveals Franco determined to liquidate the opposition before September, when the General Assembly of the United Nations meets in Paris. It is expected that the Assembly will then resume its debate on Spain, if only to give various Latin American countries an opportunity to explain their behavior in sending ambassadors to Madrid in defiance of the United Nations resolution of December, 1946. The fact that the debate will take place in the country next door, and for that reason will be particularly stormy, makes Franco anxious to get rid of troublesome elements at any cost. Last week, the Spanish Republican government in exile requested the United Nations to take notice of one recent episode in the Caudillo's program of preparation. In a letter to Secretary General Trygve Lie, the Republican government points to the scandalous violation of the terms of the Franco amnesty involved in the death sentence recently imposed on Josep Boronat Recansens, a member of the moderate Catalan Democratic Party who went back to Spain after being cleared by the Spanish Consul in Perpignan. Señor Recansens established himself in Barcelona only to be convicted a few months later, not of a new offense, but of "crimes committed during the civil war." This case should put an end to any illusions about Franco's intentions and also to the current irresponsible practice of American and British consulates which urge Spanish Republicans applying for any kind of visa to take advantage of the new amnesty law and return to Spain.

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THE PEOPLE OF NEWFOUNDLAND HAVE made an abortive attempt to quit the political wilderness into which they strayed fourteen years ago. The choice before 176,000 eligible Newfoundland voters last week was a continuation for five years of the Commission of Government—three Newfoundlanders, three Britons, and a British governor—which since 1934 has ruled the island without benefit of a popular mandate; or confederation with Canada as a tenth province; or return to "responsible" self-government as it existed in 1933. As expected, most of the vote was divided between the Confederates and the responsible-government advocates, but since neither of these received more than half the votes, a run-off election must be held in a few weeks. The United States—doubtless to the surprise of most Americans—was the largest single factor in the referendum. Most Newfoundlanders believe that we will eventually provide for their salvation, through a vague program of "economic union." A large majority of those who voted for a return to responsible government did so because they had been assured that such a government could induce Washington to lower its tariffs on Newfoundland's fish and could create thousands of jobs by inviting American capital to develop Newfoundland's resources

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and industries tax-free. The Confederates held out as bait Canada's generous baby bonuses and other social-security benefits, which would accrue to Newfoundland on its becoming a Canadian province. No active campaign was made for a continuation of the Commission of Government. In fact, it is widely—if unofficially—reported in Newfoundland that London, while anxious to keep the island a going concern within the empire, would be happy to transfer the burden of its oldest overseas possession to Ottawa.

The Military Budget

APPROPRIATIONS of nearly $14,000,000,000 for defense are eloquent testimony to the grim state of the world. Such a sum not only constitutes about one-third of the federal budget but is more than one-quarter of the current annual expenditure for all purposes of all governmental units in the United States—federal, state, and local.

What will this rearmament do to the national economy? It goes without saying that under the present condition of nearly full employment and full utilization of our productive equipment anything extra devoted to the military establishment will have to be taken from the goods and services available for civilians. Injection of any additional demand during an inflationary period increases the upward pressure on prices. Yet what is relevant at the moment in this connection is not the total amount of the military appropriation but its increase over the previous year. Large though the defense budget is, it is only about $3,500,000,000 greater than that of the fiscal year of 1948. The gross national product is approaching $245,000,000,000 annually. In relative terms, therefore, the addition is less than 2 per cent. The increase of goods and services produced during the coming year will almost certainly be greater than that.

Thus, in large aggregates, no extreme sacrifices will be immediately necessary. The shoe will undoubtedly pinch, and some scarcities may develop, but the shoe was pinching already. It is not a question of guns or butter, or even of guns or automobiles or of guns or houses. Perhaps the chief result of the decision of Congress will be to postpone the recession which probably would otherwise have come within the next year because of the growing inability of consumers to buy so much at high prices and the slackening of the post-war program of business investment.

The danger lies in the tendency rather than in any prompt effect of defense expenditures. Rapid demobilization has been halted; the curve of military expense has turned upward again. New vested interests in jobs and profits are being built about it, and one increase is likely to be followed by another. If the cold war continues indefinitely, we shall not have the sudden all-out effect of an armed struggle which everybody knows is temporary and to which resources are committed with the mental reservation that before long it will be possible to return to an economy oriented about civilian aims, but a regular and institutionalized concentration on an expanding military establishment.

A conservative Congress in these circumstances trims civilian expenditures to the bone. It sacrifices social services, public housing, scientific research, education, statistics, conservation, and all the other creative work of government which, though far less expensive than armament, is capable of multiplying wealth and welfare out of proportion to the burden assumed by the taxpayers. This is not an economic necessity but merely a political reaction. It tends to weaken the fiber of the nation in the long run, and even to make it less well prepared for an ultimate crisis.

In a world in which war is both possible and deadly, it would be folly not to be prepared. But it would be equally foolish to sacrifice, by unnecessary and meaningless "economies"—since the amounts saved would be trifling in comparison with the cost of planes, carriers, and bombs—the functions of government which are required to integrate and vitalize a rich and promising civilization. Many of those in high places are normally too reluctant to permit the use of government for the benefit of the general welfare. They will use the increase in military expenditures as an argument to reinforce their position. The argument is hollow.

Trizonia and E. R. P.

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE six-power conferees have gone home to win the consent of their governments to the agreement reached at London for the political consolidation of western Germany and its incorporation in the American-financed recovery program. Several face a difficult job; Bidault, perhaps an impossible one. For the French and, to a lesser degree, the other western neighbors of the defeated Reich have an old and undiminished fear of German revival which is only increased by their suspicion of Soviet intentions and their skepticism about American promises. The picture of a Germany restored to productive energy and courted by the great rival powers is one which terrifies Frenchmen of every party. The Schuman government may fall on the German issue, under attack from Communists, Gaullists, and Socialists. Even its own party, the M. R. P., is able to offer only half-hearted support. Britain alone, repeating its role of thirty years ago, joins the United States in favoring rapid restoration of German production; but were it not for American objections, the Labor government would at least take the

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precaution of socializing the great industries of the Ruhr to prevent the return to power of Hitler's industrial Gauleiters.

The detailed terms of the London agreement have not been published as this is written, but first reports indicate that international supervisory control of Ruhr production and distribution measures the extent of American "concessions" to the fears of the Continental countries. How far this control will go in gearing German industry to the economic needs of Europe is not clear. A board representing the participating nations plus western Germany will constitute the new authority which will not, however, "involve the political separation of the Ruhr area from Germany." Distribution of coke, coal, and steel will be put directly under the international board to prevent their use as "an instrument of aggression." Nothing is said about the powers reserved to German industrial concerns or the system under which they shall operate.

PERHAPS the division of Germany was necessary. Russia's obstructive tactics together with its firm determination to gear German economy to its own needs made four-power rule a faction almost from the start. But the West, especially the United States, must share responsibility for the breakdown. In spite of parallel and often quite inconsistent efforts at denazification, we have retained in key positions many of Hitler's most powerful backers. While the Russians have used such men for Russian ends, we have used them too often for their own ends. The culmination of this tendency has been the practical abandonment of decartelization. In the interests of restoring production, we are deliberately allowing the great trusts to remain intact, with the old industrialists for the most part in control. The stubborn American insistence that Hermann Reusch, German steel magnate, should be kept as a member of the Allied Steel Production Committee, in the face of protests from all left and labor groups, ended only when a threatened strike of steel workers forced our authorities to back down. Methods such as these, taken together with Russia's policy of tight political and economic coordination, resulted in a de facto division of Germany before Bizonia was created and long before the London conference met to fabricate a tri-zonal western German state. But the London agreement will produce violent political effects just the same, for it will formalize a situation that could be regarded until now as a temporary by-product of big-power conflict.

Russia is already capitalizing on the American-sponsored partition plan, and political groups in the Soviet zone are unanimous in opposition. Their attitude will be hard to counter in "Trizonia," where the desire for unity is just as strong. In fact, politicians there are already expressing extreme reluctance to serve as instruments of Western policy; only the Catholic parties have accepted the London decision as a necessary expedient. All this was foreseen by shrewd observers and was predicted in these pages by J. Alvarez del Vayo in reports from Paris as long ago as last January.

The new plan will also complicate still further the uncomfortable situation in Berlin. As Walter Lippmann pointed out, if Frankfurt becomes the capital of "our Germany," the continued presence of the Western allies in Berlin will be a matter of prestige rather than an administrative necessity; and on the face of it, hardly worth a fight. But to get out of Berlin would be to give Russia an immense diplomatic victory and at the same time expose Germans who have favored the West to the danger of Soviet reprisals.

The Russians are bound to oppose a plan which is obviously designed to isolate them from the benefits of revived German production; but if it is carried into effect they are equally bound to try to turn it to their own advantage by offering the new tri-zonal administration every inducement, political and economic, to turn to the East. And Russia will be able to present itself both as the single big-power opponent of partition and as an unlimited market for the products of German heavy industry. In their latest move to fortify their position in the contest with Soviet power, the Western allies have handed Russia new tactical opportunities.

BUT what is the alternative? The dismembered and defeated German state cannot remain a pensioner forever, nor can Europe regain its economic equilibrium without Germany's productive capacity. These considerations, combined with the requirements of the cold war, made some organization of the western areas inevitable. The proposed plan may not be good, but since no good solution is available it offers at least a way out of the present political and economic desert.

To Americans, this argument sounds sensible; for Americans are production-minded and "practical," and already they tend to forget the horrors Hitler's Reich brought to the old Continent. The war is past and the success of E. R. P. seems more important than the fears of Frenchmen or Socialists. To men like Draper and even Clay, it seems quite natural to use Ruhr industrialists as instruments for setting Europe's heavy industry on its feet; to most Europeans, they hardly commend themselves as elements of security in the uneasy year ahead. The governments of Western Europe will ratify the London proposals only if they feel that American pressure leaves them no choice.

Some modification of the agreement may still be pos-

J. Alvarez del Vayo, *The Nation's* European editor, has just returned from Paris. His page of political comment will be resumed next week.

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sible. Barring accord with Russia, now less likely than ever, the best hope lies in a determined effort by labor and Socialist groups to impose provisions which will end the domination of the Ruhr by German private industry. International control over limited areas of production and distribution is no safeguard. But international control coupled with socialization of the great industries would destroy the present overshadowing certainty that Germany's network of cartels—subsidized by America—will regain complete dominance in the Ruhr.

So drastic a change is certain to meet strong resistance in Washington. It could be forced through only if the left in Europe were able to demonstrate that the consequence of restoring the power of German big business would be to create unrest and so drastically reduce production as to threaten the success of E. R. P. itself.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Putting Douglas on Ice

NOT even his friends know whether Justice William O. Douglas thinks seriously of himself as a Presidential candidate in 1948. At least some of them, dreaming of Douglas in '52, ardently hope he does not. What they fear most is that if the Republicans name Vandenberg, the Democrats, close to panic as they are, will go into a complete tailspin at the thought of countering with Harry Truman. The chances are, according to this analysis, they would try again to induce Eisenhower to run, and should they fail, they might well turn to Douglas. But that is precisely what these admirers of the Justice want most to avoid. Like the fifty Washington correspondents who were polled last week, they have already conceded 1948 to the Republicans, and they don't want their best hope for the future compromised by a preliminary defeat. Going back to 1912, they recall how Taft and Theodore Roosevelt divided the Republican vote and gave the election to Wilson; and how, four years later, the G. O. P. felt obliged to pick a man affiliated with neither Taft nor Roosevelt. It found him, logically enough, in the rarefied neutrality of the Supreme Court. Just so, the Democrats, divided between Truman and Wallace in 1948, could be reunited by a Supreme Court Justice in 1952.

The same analyst who sketched out for me this long-range strategy sees Douglas also as the party's best bet to bridge the gap between North and South, which must be done if the Democrats are to have any future at all. The theory here is that the old-line bosses of the Northern cities—the Flynns, the Pendergasts, and the Hagues—are a vanishing race, giving way to more enlightened leaders like McGrath and McMahon. With these Douglas stands ace high, and at the same time he has excellent connections with some of the best and most influential of the Southerners. He is very close to Chief Justice Vinson; he is looked up to by men like Representative Lyndon Johnson, with his large labor following in Texas; and he is a very good friend of Sam Rayburn, former Speaker, now minority leader, and certainly one of the top figures of the party.

Douglas himself appears to be sorely divided in his own mind. Certainly his recent speeches suggest a man to whom the thought of running is neither far-fetched nor abhorrent. On the other hand, he refuses to give any overt sign of interest. At a lunch not long ago a group of politicians from Montana, Colorado, Minnesota, and Washington suggested, informally but pointedly, that they could line up their uninstructed delegations for Douglas if he would only give the word. But a Justice of the Supreme Court can give no such word and still remain on the bench. Evidently unwilling to make the plunge, Douglas merely turned his head and looked out the window.

THE Democratic fear that Vandenberg will be the Republican choice, not confined of course to Douglasites, appears at the moment to be well founded. For all they will mean at Philadelphia this month, the Republican primaries might just as well not have been held. The net result of all the furor is that Dewey has roughly 300 votes lined up, and Taft and Stassen about 200 each. Since 548 is the magic number that entitles the holder to campaign against Harry Truman, it is plain that there can be no decision on the first ballot. Neither Taft nor Dewey nor Stassen can win simply by inheriting the votes of another member of the trio. All three, then, are at the mercy of delegations that will lead off with votes for a favorite son.

As a rule the "sons" themselves will have precious little to say about when and to whom their delegates will ultimately be delivered. It will be Colonel McCormick, for example, who will decide what happens to the fifty-six votes that Illinois will cast on the first few ballots for Governor Dwight Green; and Boss Pew will dispose of Pennsylvania's seventy-three votes once they have been cast for Senator Edward Martin. But California and Michigan, with their fifty-three and forty-one votes, are in a totally different category. Governor Earl Warren and Senator Vandenberg are favorite sons who are also favorite candidates.

If and when the probability of Vandenberg's nomination approaches certainty, the excitement will lie in the scramble to his standard. Here Stassen, of the big three, has the inside track. It would be hard for either Dewey or Taft to swallow enough pride to haggle for the vice-presidency; but nothing would be easier, or more logi-

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cal, for Stassen. Vandenberg's health is such that he has already intimated he will be a one-term President if any. Stassen is young, and he must know by now that he would step into the White House as Vandenberg's heir more readily than by prolonged intra-party skirmishing. It is common talk in Washington that a Vandenberg-Stassen deal has for some time been in the making.

Should Vandenberg firmly withdraw, a course he is still reported to favor, Warren would certainly be the next best bet as a compromise candidate. But Warren has lately been making sounds that cannot possibly endear him to the Tafts, the Pews, and the McCormicks of his party. In fact, his recent pronouncements have been uniformly to the left of all his fellow-candidates. He has asked for maximum appropriations for the Marshall Plan, favors debt reduction before tax reduction, and wants more federal spending on housing, education, social security, and reclamation. He scoffs at Stassen's proposal to deny American aid to Socialist states "so long as these governments are the will of their own people." And he rejects the move to outlaw the Communists—"all it is necessary to do to make communism unimportant is to stick to our democratic principles."

All of which might mean that Warren, preferring not to gamble on the Presidential nomination, is ready to offer himself as the liberal running-mate that a conservative candidate—Joe Martin perhaps?—might require for a balanced ticket. There is always the possibility, of course, that it may mean a genuine shift in the man's convictions. But in politics, especially Republican politics, it does not pay to indulge in dreamy speculations.

Washington Sidelights

By MADELINE KARR

Washington, June 4

SOMETHING new in political methods: At the Republican state convention in Indiana next week, for the first time at any political convention so far as I know, the delegates will vote for candidates by secret ballot, individually, using voting machines. The Indiana Democratic convention, to be held the following week, will also use machines.

The introduction of machines is the result of a state law passed last year after the party bosses had run roughshod over the opposition at the 1946 state conventions and picked their own slates of candidates. Their conduct was particularly flagrant at the Republican convention, where Senator William E. Jenner, the state chairman, picked himself to run for the Senate in the face of many vehement objections.

Under the new system country chairmen will find it less easy to control their delegations: individuals will not have to stand up and openly defy the leadership. It is an interesting development which deserves to be watched carefully. In the national conventions particularly, when a delegation chairman announces so many votes for a certain candidate, it takes a hardy individual to demand that the delegation be polled. If it is polled, each delegate must identify himself and declare his choice to the whole convention.

SOME of the worst slums in Washington are found just east of the Senate Office Building. For many years pictures of these wretched alley dwellings with the Capitol in the background have been used to dramatize the need for slum clearance and low-cost housing in the District of Columbia. Now the Senate has hit upon a novel method of getting rid of this eyesore and disgrace. Another office building is needed, with more space for Senate committees and hearing rooms. Although there are suitable open spaces to the west and north, the plans call for tearing down the slums east of the present building and putting up the new office there. Millions will be spent on this job, but there is no plan for resettling the slum dwellers—which can only mean that they will have to look for places to live in the already overcrowded low-rent districts.

KENNETH S. WHERRY, chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, has been fighting the battle of the independent oil producers who are trying to get steel to raise American oil production against the big companies which are interested in developing Middle Eastern oil with the assistance of Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Under Secretary of State Lovett. Since the chief obstacle to oil production today is the steel shortage, the allocation of steel determines where oil will be produced.

The Brewster Committee to Investigate the National Defense has chastised the Secretary of National Defense for his cooperation with Aramco (Arabian-American Oil Company) and the high prices which the navy has paid and continues to pay for Arabian oil. The subcommittee on oil of the House Armed Services Committee put out a little-publicized report disapproving of the Defense Department's concentration on Middle Eastern oil projects and declaring that domestic and South American oil production should be given first preference. Since last fall Senator Wherry has been trying to get Secretary Forrestal to justify his continued insistence upon shipping steel supplies to Aramco.

Opposition to dependence on Middle Eastern oil is supported by a statement made by the vice-chairman of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board before the Malone committee investigating national resources on June 15, 1947. On this occasion the following exchange took place:

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Senator Watkins: Does the navy feel that any of the Middle East oil can be considered as a reserve for use in the case of war? . . .

Admiral Hoover [vice-chairman of the Petroleum Board]: Personally I don't think so. Of course that is a personal opinion.

Senator Watkins: You don't think it can be considered as a reserve?

Admiral Hoover: No.

Senator Watkins: In other words, we will have to depend upon other resources entirely, even though we have arranged to expend some four hundred million dollars in Greece and Turkey in a measure to protect that field?

Admiral Hoover: Well, I didn't know that that was what it was for.

Senator Watkins: Well, we are not letting any secrets out, having in mind it would be perfectly justifiable we have an interest in those oil fields.

Then in your opinion, we cannot count upon that in the event of a war?

Admiral Hoover: I wouldn't count on it; no, sir.

Senator Wherry has been pounding at Forrestal and the large steel companies to keep the steel here for both security and economic reasons.

One of Our Cities Is Missing

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, June 3

OREGON law requires a dam ten feet high or more to be of solid material and available to inspection by the state engineer. The law is silent as to a fifty-foot railroad fill behind which 18,500 men, women, and children may be living. So the old embankment of the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle disintegrated under the buffeting of the Columbia River's snow-fed overflow, and Vanport City was reduced to a maelstrom of floating kindling.

The victims of most floods can eventually return to their homes. Vanport's 5,200 families—half of them war veterans, a fourth Negro or Japanese, all of them in the lower-income group—will never return. Vanport is gone. Where once stood America's largest war-time housing project, a mass of debris now tosses on a silty lake. Because many of the residents were migrants, because they can never go back to Vanport, an accurate check of the dead may never be possible. Two hundred is a random estimate from the local coroner's office. Property damage in the basin of the lower Columbia will exceed $100,000,000.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist who writes frequently for The Nation.

At eight o'clock on the morning of Sunday, May 30, a circular was shoved under all Vanport front doors. It was distributed by the Portland Housing Authority, whose officials claim it was based on assurances received from the United States Army Engineers. "You will have time to leave," Vanport families were told. "Don't get excited. Dikes are safe at present. You will be warned if necessary." Eight hours later a wall of water toppled on to Vanport. The people had warning—five or six minutes. Most of them had to flee for their lives, leaving behind every personal possession. Had the railroad fill collapsed at night, the death toll would have been appalling. The Army Engineers contend they did not know the condition of the embankment because it was constructed long ago, in 1907. The Oregon State Grange has demanded a Congressional investigation, charging that engineers are unfit to hold their posts who did not know that an embankment guarding the homes of 18,500 people contained rotting trestle timbers.

But apart from the immediate bureaucratic bungling, the catastrophe was a fearful lesson on the need for a Columbia Valley Authority.

Hell's Canyon Dam on the champing Snake, where much of the Columbia's turbulent overflow originates, would materially have reduced the flood crest. The *Oregonian* calculates that Hell's Canyon and a series of smaller headwater dams would have lowered it at least three feet. This three feet might have saved many lives; the property and topsoil spared would have paid a substantial portion of the cost of the dams.

The reason Hell's Canyon Dam has not been built is that the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation are engaged in an angry row over which shall build it. At a recent public hearing each presented a long brief insisting on priority rights to the project.

The Northwest's shattering floods this year are attributable primarily to record winter snowfalls in the Selkirk, Rocky, and Cascade ranges. Yet the Corps of Engineers, which is responsible for dikes and floodgates, is not the agency which measures the snow in the passes. That is done by the Geological Survey and the Forest Service, in different federal departments.

The Grange and the American Veterans' Committee are urging that Congress enact a Columbia Valley Authority to provide one sovereignty over the river from its sources to the sea. These groups also are wondering at the vast number of sand bags which were heaped about factories, warehouses, and railroad yards, while so little was done to protect Vanport where more than 5,000 low-income families lived in a hollow fifteen feet beneath the Columbia's normal level.

Vanport's people—even though so many of them are veterans—have been pushed around ever since the end of the war. Some lost their homes even before the flood, when industries coveted a portion of the site. The reac-

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tionary state legislature deliberately made it more difficult for them to register to vote. Vested university interests down the Willamette valley have made complaints about Vanport College.

"Vanport died as it lived—without the protection afforded the rest of the Portland community," said Kenneth Kraemer, chairman of the American Veterans' Committee Housing Council.

A Practical Program for Progressives

BY ELLIS ARNALL

THERE are two words in my title that I neither like nor trust—progressive with a capital P and practical. Progressivism, in spite of the heroic efforts of the coalition that supported the elder La Follette in 1924, has for me the taint of Senator Albert Beveridge's defense of our Philippine atrocities and the smell of George Perkins's pocket-book in 1912. As for practical, it is a word still associated in my mind with hasty take-offs for Munich by nervous political quacks carrying umbrellas.

But progressive will have to serve. You cannot define "liberal" in the America of today with any exactness; and the term "democrat" has been associated with the party founded by Mr. Jefferson for a century and a half, whether its leaders followed his way of thought or only gave his policies lip-service. As for practical—evil, unrealistic, and stupid as it usually is, the practical course sometimes has its legitimate uses. Perhaps now is the time for progressives and liberals and democrats-with-a little-*d* to try to be practical.

The first thing they need to do is to agree on the conditions and the problems that the country now faces.

The economic situation is bad. Prices are high. Production is uncertain. Unemployment is far more considerable than the public realizes. The savings of the people have been eaten up; quite literally they have been spent for food. In many rural areas where there was a war-time exodus of workers or where local industry has failed to revive with the end of the war the number of individuals on relief rolls is mounting. Monopolies flourish.

The foreign situation is bad. We have won the distrust of democratic elements in Latin America. We have failed in Palestine. We turned the Philippines over to quislings. We witnessed the disgrace of the popular branch of Congress bestowing its approval on the Falangist dictator of Spain. We have not yet succeeded in checking Russian aggression, either in Europe or Asia.

The governmental situation is bad. There has been inadequate resistance to the efforts of some business elements, with the cooperation of lame-witted brass hats, to turn this country into a military republic. There has been little vigor in fighting for vital public works or for expanded social security. Witch-hunters are busier than in many years. Social gains registered between 1933 and 1940 are being destroyed. Almost no effective effort has been made to solve the problems of housing, public assistance, education, or taxation.

The political situation is bad. The leadership in Congress is the most inept since 1919. The Republican Party has given a demonstration of complete irresponsibility, as well as of attachment to the most sinister of monopolistic interests. The Democratic leadership has been in retreat, partly because its best men in House and Senate are weary and aging, and partly because control over many agencies still rests with men brought into the war-time coalition who have scant sympathy with the party's point of view on domestic questions. Third-party efforts threaten to splinter progressive unity. Labor seems to be retiring into an unrealistic attitude toward public affairs.

That is a serious and disturbing picture of American conditions. But it need not discourage us. The United States is young; a great many follies can be expected. It is time, though, that progressives did something about their country.

The first requirement is a basis of agreement as to the nature of the problems. Once this is found, the formulation of reasonable policies should not be too difficult. Agreement can be reached most easily in the domestic field. Reduction of the cost of living, intelligent reappraisal of the tax system, solution of the housing shortage, extension of social-security benefits, equalization of educational opportunities, control of monopolies, and increased production of consumer goods represent the major problems.

The simplest way to attack these problems is through a program to secure the decentralization of industry and government. Any other approach to the economic needs of the United States would be like applying salve

ELLIS ARNALL, former governor of Georgia, is the author of "The Shore Dimly Seen" and "What the People Want." The latter, a report on the state of the Union as seen during a tour through forty-seven states, has just been published. This is the first of a number of articles to be contributed during the campaign by progressive political leaders, including Chester Bowles, Robert Kenny, and James Patton.

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to lesions caused by systemic illness. The United States must be made a unified country, with freedom of opportunity for all citizens. This involves the use of the War Assets Corporation, the RFC, the power of taxation, and the Congressional authority to end regional economic discriminations. A vigorous effort to break up existing monopolies and cartels and to prevent the formation of new ones is indicated. Progressives might sponsor legislation to provide for the orderly liquidation, through receiverships, of corporations flagrantly violating the anti-trust statutes of the nation.

IN MY trips about America I have discovered a great demand by a majority of the people for some sensible social-security measures that will cover all citizens instead of a limited number and provide for the emergencies of illness and unemployment as well as for decent retirement. I am inclined to think that this widespread desire for security is partly the product of the depression and the war and that a reasonable readjustment of our economy will do more to end the demand than anything else. However, such a social-security system would be perfectly sound, and it answers a deep-felt need of today. Progressives might find time to consider the kind of measure that is desired by most Americans.

Progressives might devote a good part of their zeal to a fight against lowering the American standard of living. Involved as this question may be with that of the local, state, and national tax structures, with labor-management relations, with an integrated and flexible public-works program, and with the promotion of decentralization, the ultimate solution lies in increased production. It is true that government does not intrude directly in that field except in an acute emergency, but indirectly government intrudes through the tax structure, through the pattern of its labor policy, and through its enormous financial stake in plants all over the country.

Progressives might sponsor specific measures—a Missouri Valley Authority, the St. Lawrence Waterway, the development of the Alabama-Coosa basin, the improvement of long-neglected Southern harbors. They might propose a policy of planning public works to avoid regional depressions that spread into national depressions.

Best of all, progressives can work for national unity. That requires equal justice for all Americans, regardless of race or religion of course, but also regardless of where they live. Full employment is improbable in a nation where three-fourths of the continental area is regarded as a colonial appendage for relentless and wasteful exploitation. Aid to education in the exploited Southern and Western states is beginning to receive the support even of reactionaries, who realize that illiteracy is exportable. Economic justice for every section of America would enable the citizens of every section to support their own institutions adequately.

Since there is less disagreement among progressives on domestic issues than on foreign policy, I suggest that the progressives unite on a domestic policy first. It will follow that our foreign policy will be clarified, for our foreign policy is determined to a very great extent by the situation at home. Our foreign policy in 1796 was shaped by men who feared the expansion of democracy in the infant republic; necessarily it was an anti-Jacobin policy—to apply the name the Federalist boodlers used; they were afraid of the words "Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood." During the Grant administration and at the turn of the century our foreign policy was frankly imperialist. Sumner's brilliant denunciation of our outrages in the Caribbean are forgotten today, as is Bacon's magnificent and patriotic exposure of our bloody suppression of the Philippine patriots. There can be no doubt, however, that the foreign policies of the Grant and McKinley administrations were consistent with their domestic policies—with military occupation of the most ruthless sort in the South, with Crédit Mobilier, with embalmed beef, with the fostering of trusts.

Today the indecision in our foreign policy is a reflection of the indecision on the domestic front. The American right and left are not indecisive, it is true; but progressives, who occupy the centrist position, cannot make up their minds. The right can assume that the United States is going to commit itself today, as it did in the twenties, to "the maintenance of orderly government." It equates orderly government with the restoration of the power of I. G. Farben, with support of Franco Spain, Peronist Argentina, the Arab League. The left has an even simpler task: it can assume that the Kremlin is never wrong, though it reverse its own policies and break its most solemn commitments.

It is true that our muddled and hopelessly unmoral foreign policy has been made more muddled and hopeless by permitting the direction of foreign affairs to become a province of the armed services instead of regarding the armed services as an instrument of foreign policy. It is also true that the foreign service contains too many self-styled career men and senile brass hats and too few men who operate on the highest political level. To our hurt we seem to have forgotten that in a democracy the determination of foreign policy is as much a matter of public decision as the determination of domestic policy.

But the great reason for our muddled foreign policy is the attitude of progressives. Sometimes blithely and sometimes reluctantly they have abandoned the only possible basis for an effective American foreign policy—the recognition that war can be averted only by the growth of political democracy. American support should be given to democratic governments everywhere: in the Western Hemisphere, in the Far East, in Europe. Traditionally that has been the basis for such continuity as American foreign policy has possessed.

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Such a policy would have avoided most of our admitted mistakes. We would have refused to turn Poland over to Russia. We would not have complicated our problem in Italy by attempting to retain the moronic little king on his throne. We would have demanded immediate freedom and unity for Korea instead of dividing the country into Russian and American zones. We would have joined in the ousting of Franco two years ago. Such a policy means a positive approach to world affairs rather than a negative approach.

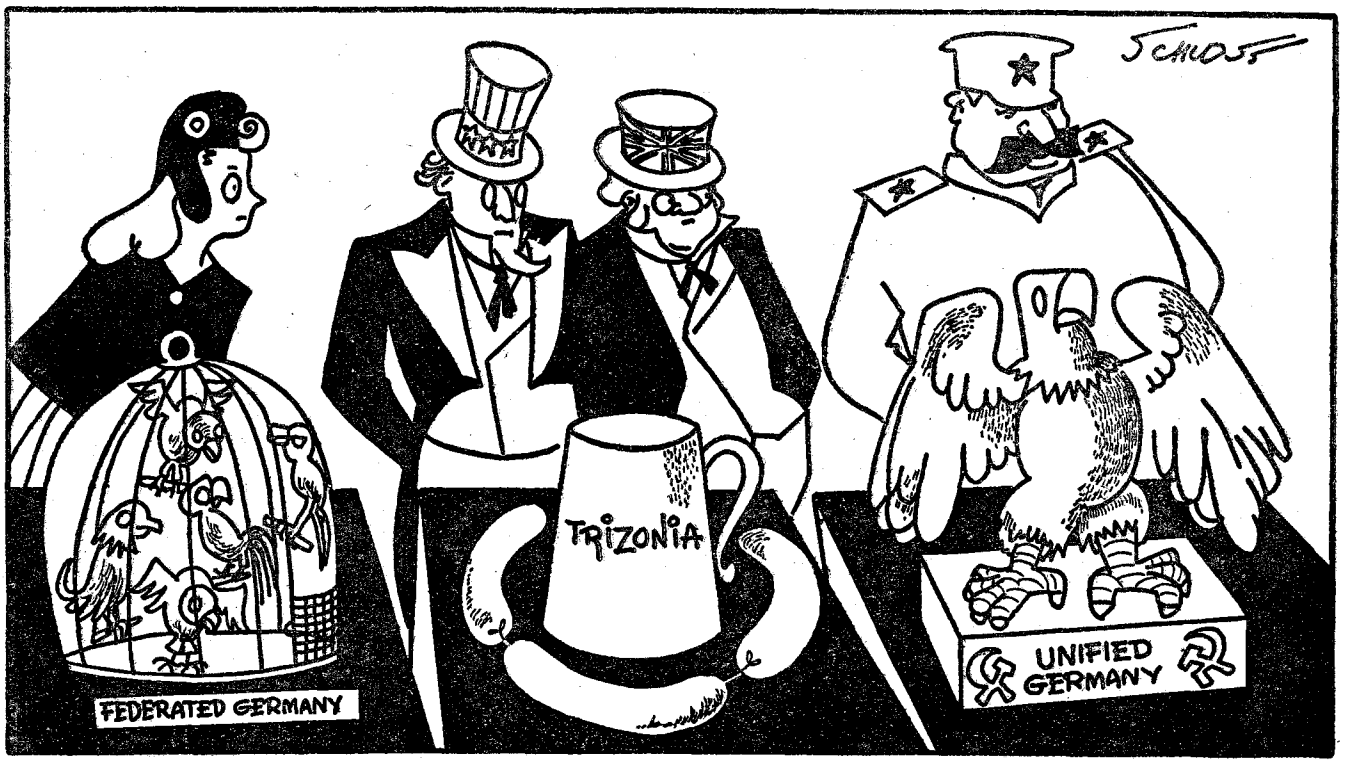
I HAVE undertaken to outline a program upon which, I believe, most American progressives might find themselves in agreement. It means the retention, not the surrender, of the social and economic gains of the past two decades. It promises a peaceful America in a peaceful world. It presents an opportunity to unify the progressive movement in the nation. Unity is what progressives need if they are to succeed in the task of providing the people of the United States with efficient, economical, honest government responsive to the will of the citizens.

They cannot do this by splintering into a number of minor parties. The political realities must be considered. By the ratification of the Twelfth Amendment in 1804 the United States was committed to a two-party system of government on the national level. Our system of electing the Chief Executive coupled with our method of choosing Senators and Representatives in the Congress renders it impossible for government to function effectively except upon a two-party basis. The American theory of democratic government may represent an over-simplification in some ways, in spite of the stabilization provided by the checks and balances of the three coordinate branches of government, but it insists, perhaps nostalgically in an era when blocs, splinter-parties, coalitions, and fronts are crippling governments in Europe, that power rest with the majority. Third-party movements have been occasionally beneficial as expressions of protest, but viewed realistically they serve chiefly to divide the American majority and permit temporary control of government by the minority. A strong third-party movement that battled vigorously in the Presidential campaign without entering the Congressional race on a national scale might produce a four-year deadlock in American government between the Executive and the Congress.

It is necessary for progressives, therefore, to obtain and keep control of one of the major parties. Historically there are indications that they would find a readier welcome in the Democratic Party than in any of its rivals of the past century and a half. Concentrated within the framework of the Democratic Party, progressives, if united, could give America the kind of government Americans want. What keeps them from doing so?

I think, after visiting all parts of our country, that it is the refusal to make good on the first tenet of their shared beliefs: that this is one country, and that every citizen within it is entitled to justice and every section to development without exploitation. Until regional discriminations end and the trend toward centralization in industry and government is reversed, progressives cannot unite effectively upon either domestic or foreign policies.

Fortunately for themselves and for our country the



THE HUCKSTERS

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motto which progressives have engraved upon their sundial reads, "It is always day." It is not too late to repair our mistakes. It is not too late to demand a dynamic, realistic foreign policy that will command the respect and support of all peoples if not of all governments. It is not too late to unite America behind realistic domestic policies that can provide us with abundance, full employment, and the protection of every individual right.

It is too big a job to be labeled "practical"; it is only necessary. Progressives can do it if they will.

TVA—the First Fifteen Years

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

St. Louis, May 25

THE Tennessee Valley Authority's greatest accomplishment may not be its magnificent dams but its demonstration that democracy can be efficient. TVA today provides the standing answer to the contention that whenever the people try to do something for themselves, the undertaking bogs down in legislative delays, bureaucratic rivalries, extravagance, and graft.

Under the chairmanship of David Lilienthal, TVA has shown that the corporation device can be as useful in the public service as for private gain. While properly subject to ultimate Congressional control, TVA is largely divorced from Washington. Its work is done in the region which it serves. And it is done with all the engineering and accounting facilities which modern management commands. Along the Tennessee there are none of those interdepartmental battlefields that scar the valleys of the Columbia and the Missouri.

TVA now is an assured money-maker. With its construction program virtually completed, the time is in sight when, instead of asking Congress for money, it will make a steady and substantial contribution to the Treasury. Still, its franchise for doing business in this way is precarious. Its success has not silenced its enemies—neither the private power companies nor the Senator McKellars who see it as a political plum orchard posted with a big "Keep Out" sign.

Proof of this hostility came just the other day, when the House of Representatives turned down a request for $4,000,000 to start work on a steam power plant at New Johnsonville, Tennessee. The plant is needed to meet the increasing demand for power in the TVA area and to offset the unavoidable irregularities in the supply of hydroelectric power. But the industry, as represented by *Electrical World*, is protesting that TVA "is undertaking a proprietary function which it has the legal, but we believe not the moral, right to undertake." The latest opposition argument runs along the line that it is all right for TVA to develop natural resources—meaning water-power—but it should not be allowed to generate enough thermal power to enable it to market hydroelectric current in an orderly manner. The main theme is the same as always, but the approach has been shifted. Where the cry once was "Kill 'em!" it now is "Cripple 'em!" The prospect is not reassuring.

Much will depend on TVA's three-man board of directors. It is up to the board not only to repel onslaughts but also to manage affairs so that they will give the least cause for attack. The board is changing. Lilienthal, with his sense of purpose and his talent in public relations, has gone to the Atomic Energy Commission. In the chairman's place now sits Gordon R. Clapp, formerly TVA's general manager. He certainly knows his job and is as loyal to it as was his predecessor. Will he be as effective if the fighting gets really dirty? The second director is former Senator Pope of Idaho. He is a burly man and well informed, but he is found more frequently on the fringes of battles than at their center.

The third director, if the Senate confirms him, is to be Dean Harry A. Curtis of the University of Missouri's engineering school, appointed on May 3 by President Truman to succeed the aging Dr. H. A. Morgan. TVA's chief chemist from 1933 to 1938, Dean Curtis has an industrial and academic background. He was a member of the committee appointed by President Coolidge to advise on the possible use of the Muscle Shoals plant built during World War I. In 1925 he advised against its operation by the government. That, however, was long before the over-all TVA pattern had been worked out. He is strongly in favor of this pattern, and he has made a substantial contribution to its success. Since he calls himself a New Dealer, will he be acceptable to the present Senate majority?

But this is more an attempt to look into the future than a review of the past. The record now intrusted to Messrs. Clapp, Pope, and Curtis—if Curtis is confirmed—is one of the thrilling chapters of American history. The more men got to know the Tennessee, the more they became convinced that they ought to be doing something with it. Andrew Jackson dreamed of its development, and Theodore Roosevelt had enough of the vision in 1903 to veto a bill for its private exploitation.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN is editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis Star-Times. *A report on Bonneville's first ten years, by R. L. Neuberger, appeared on May 8.*

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The First World War started the Muscle Shoals development. Then came Henry Ford with his offer to take it off the government's hands. Nebraska's George Norris, however, was on the scene. And the story really begins in 1933 with Franklin D. Roosevelt's arrival in the White House. Norris at last had a partner in the project of turning a dream into concrete.

THE dream was to handle all the problems and possibilities of the river and valley as one—or, as the title of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act puts it, "to improve the navigability and to provide for the flood control of the Tennessee River; to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley; to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said valley; to provide for the national defense by the creation of a corporation for the operation of government properties at and near Muscle Shoals in Alabama, and for other purposes."

The critics still say that TVA is being run mostly "for other purposes." Actually, it has been remarkably faithful to its mandate. A score of dams have been built between Gilbertsville in Kentucky and Fontana in North Carolina. They have turned a once shoal-dotted and troublesome stream into a succession of beautiful inland lakes which in 1947 carried an estimated 341,000,000 ton-miles of freight, exclusive of sand and gravel. This was more than ten times the traffic in 1933.

As for flood control, TVA reduced by ten feet the crest of last February's flood and saved Chattanooga alone about $6,000,000 in flood losses. It is estimated that $27,500,000 in flood losses has been saved since Norris Dam went into operation in 1936. Nor can it be overlooked that control of the Tennessee has lowered flood crests on the Ohio and the Mississippi.

TVA has always been well aware that flood control begins on the land. Again faithful to the act, it has planted thousands of trees and fostered contour plowing. To reclaim marginal land it has made progress in breaking the one-crop habit. It has demonstrated that grass—in the form of meat and dairy products—is more profitable than cotton. It has shown that fertilizers, especially phosphates, can make well-nigh barren land fertile. Thus, while tobacco acreage is down 8 per cent, the yield is up 48 per cent. Corn acreage is down 19.7 per cent, but the yield is up almost 20 per cent. Between 1939 and 1944 farm prices rose 105 per cent, but the value of Tennessee Valley farm products went up 147 per cent—from $110,803,000 to $274,466,000.

The once backward valley has been transformed into an industrial region of increasing importance. Between 1933 and 1945 employment opportunities in factories went up 161 per cent, or 30 per cent more than in the rest of the country. Since 1933 more than 1,800 new plants have been opened in the area. And as Mr. Clapp said in a recent speech, "so far as is known, only four of these new plants were moved in from other regions."

Per capita income in the valley is rising more rapidly than in the United States as a whole. In 1933 it was only 40 per cent of the national average. By 1945 it had risen to 58 per cent. The dollar figure for 1945 was a round 2.1 billions—or $680,000,000 more than it would have been had it increased only at the national rate. Income-tax figures show how this has benefited the nation. In 1933 collections in the valley represented 3.4 per cent of the total. By 1946 the figure was up to 6 per cent. Also, of that extra $680,000,000, no less than $450,000,000 was used to buy products of other sections of the United States.

The big chapter in TVA's story, of course, is power. Increased incomes in industry and agriculture alike are based on it. It also has enabled TVA to make its prescribed contribution to the national defense. TVA electricity made the aluminum that filled the air with American planes. TVA electricity runs Oak Ridge.

TVA produced 14,797,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1947 compared with 12,314,000,000 in the previous year. (Incidentally 92 per cent of the 1947 output came from hydroelectric plants.) But the demand still is rising. Between June 30 of last year and the end of February, 1948, the number of consumers increased from 743,000 to 810,400. And the use per consumer is mounting. The average for 1947 was 2,197 kilowatt-hours; by the end of last February it was up to 2,446.

Surely this is proof of the theory that low costs will promote widespread use of power. And TVA power is cheap. The average price at the end of February was 1.59 cents per kilowatt-hour compared with a national average of 3.08 cents. For 100 kilowatt-hours the residential rate in the TVA area is $2.50. In New York it is $4.86; in Chicago, $3.35; in St. Louis, $2.85; in San Francisco, $2.82. In McMinnville, Oregon, served by Bonneville, it is $2.50, as in the TVA area.

AND now the storm breaks! Sure TVA rates are low, but they are subsidized, runs the charge. Well, at least Congress is satisfied that TVA is not allocating to navigation and other activities, expenses properly chargeable to the power account. Of TVA's bookkeeping the General Accounting Office has said that it probably is "the finest accounting system in the entire government and probably one of the best accounting systems in the world." So no facts are concealed. But known facts can be variously interpreted.

TVA does not pay interest on the sums appropriated by the federal government for the construction of its facilities. It regards this money as an investment rather than as a loan. And TVA does not pay federal taxes. Certainly, these factors should be considered in comparisons with private power rates. Privately owned

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utilities cannot raise money in quite the same way. On this point Mr. Clapp says:

> The charge of subsidy can best be answered by examining what the books show for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947. In that year TVA showed a net operating revenue of $21,800,000, representing a 5½ per cent return on all the money—$400,000,000—invested in the power system. This is the sum remaining after state and local ad valorem tax payments, straight-line depreciation, and all operating expenses incurred in generating and transmitting power. The $21,800,000, therefore, corresponds to the sum which a private corporation, utility or otherwise, has to divide among those who have invested money in the business and to pay federal income taxes. It is the significant figure in determining the financial soundness of the enterprise.
>
> All of this $21,800,000, or 5½ per cent return, is the property of the federal government. It can be divided up according to any theory you care to use. For example, if interest were charged at 2 per cent, the average cost of money to the government during the period, on the entire TVA average net power investment of $400,000,000, there would still remain $13,800,000. If income taxes were calculated at the rate charged large corporations, 38 per cent on net income after interest, or roughly and generously $5,300,000, there still remains a surplus of $8,500,000.

A return of $13,800,000 or even of only $8,500,000 a year to the government is certainly enough to prove that TVA is a going concern. Understandably, Mr. Clapp and his associates want to make their record look as good as possible, and so they use the $21,800,000 figure. They do not even make a bookkeeping allowance for interest, arguing that the taxpayers have invested in TVA rather than made a loan to it. But is it absolutely fair to use this figure in comparisons with privately operated utilities? Is this really living up to the yardstick idea? Would it not be wiser to make an allowance for interest in such comparative statements? Would this not deprive the opposition of some of its ammunition? And what difference would it make? All the money belongs to the people of the United States.

And the last word: In the 1948 appropriation bill Congress provided a formula whereby the government's investment in TVA power facilities—set at $348,249,000 rather than the round figure of $400,000,000 used by Mr. Clapp—is to be paid back into the Treasury in forty annual instalments. After that, TVA power earnings will be virtually a windfall for the American taxpayer. In less obvious and less easily calculated ways TVA's other activities also in the long run are bound to pay for themselves.

That, it seems, ought to be the answer not only to the critics of TVA but to those who regard this world-famous enterprise merely as a rich nation's gift to a backward section or, as a friend puts it, restitution by the North for the carpet-bagging of Reconstruction days.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

DR. L. KOWARSKI, the distinguished nuclear physicist who is scientific director of the French Atomic Energy Commissariat, recently paid a flying visit to the United States. While here, he visited the Atomic Energy Commission's laboratory at Brookhaven on Long Island and gave an illuminating talk on atomic-energy research in Western Europe.

Dr. Kowarski described the British effort as only one-tenth as great as the American in terms of funds and man-power, and the French as one-tenth that of the British. In his opinion Britain and France are the only Western European nations capable of building an atomic pile, the first step toward development of atomic energy. Norway and Sweden have pile projects, but he does not believe they will be carried through successfully. Important atomic research is under way in Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, especially the last, but no pile is contemplated.

The only pile in actual operation outside the Western Hemisphere—except perhaps in Russia—is a small one at Harwell, the main British atomic-research center. A larger British pile is under construction but will not be finished until late this year or early next; a third, to generate power on an experimental scale, is planned for the future. The first French pile, a small unit, will not be completed until the end of this year at the earliest. By contrast, at least nine piles have been built in the United States—three of them large enough to have produced, in three years of operation, plutonium for a minimum of several hundred atom bombs, which are themselves comparable to piles.

The French effort, Dr. Kowarski reported, is severely handicapped by the fact that France's few atomic scientists are compelled to make their own precision tools and refine their own raw materials. France has a fine precision-instrument industry, but it is busy with more immediate reconstruction tasks. The French chemical industry has never developed to the point where it could refine atomic-energy raw materials to the required purity.

Both France and Great Britain are finding it difficult to obtain uranium ore. Outside the Soviet sphere of influence there are only two proved high-grade sources in the world—Great Bear Lake in Canada and Upper Katanga in the Belgian Congo. Substantially the entire output of both goes to the United States under long-term contracts. France has been forced to get along with low-grade ores from Madagascar and southern France, and Britain with what we think we can spare.

From what Dr. Kowarski says it is evident that the American lead over Western Europe in both military and non-military atomic-energy developments is increasing.

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May in Moscow

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, May 18

THE hot summer weather, which caused all the trees, with a sudden rush, to break into leaf, greatly added to the holiday mood in Moscow during the first half of May. Light, and generally new, summer clothes have replaced padded winter coats. For days and, alas, nights before May Day scores of pneumatic drills were active in central Moscow breaking up the streets in a "Beautifying Moscow" campaign. Hundreds of trees were planted along the main avenues; many pavements were doubled in width—all in a few days.

On May Day the principal buildings were decorated with slogans and portraits of leaders; after the usual military parade in the Red Square—marked by a larger display of jet planes than last year (they whizzed overhead like V-1's)—more than a million people carrying banners and more leaders' portraits and with children perched on their shoulders swept for hours through the Red Square, singing and cheering. In the afternoon the Dynamo stadium and the newly opened parks were thronged, and at night millions in the streets watched the illuminations and the fireworks. The numerous open-air fairs were busy, and everywhere eskimo pies and ice-cream sandwiches were being sold.

Moscow is like the center of the pool, the spot where the stone has dropped, and the international ripples are felt here far less—at any rate by ordinary people—than elsewhere. Travelers coming, say, from Berlin are amazed at the perfectly calm atmosphere in the city. There is probably less talk of war here than anywhere else in the world. The average Russian, though, in reading his paper he always turns to the foreign page first—I have noticed it on innumerable occasions—assumes, probably rightly, that for a fairly long period Europe will be crystallizing into "Marshall" countries and "non-Marshall" countries, and establishing a status quo of sorts. There is no doubt that something in the international atmosphere has changed as a result, first, of the changes in Czechoslovakia, which have been reluctantly accepted by the West, and, second, of the Italian election, which has been reluctantly accepted by the East.

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Some curious May Day articles appeared in the Soviet press. Thus *Izvestia* wrote that this was the Socialist springtime of Russia and the new democracies, and that after the spring the glorious summer of communism would come; the day, it said, would also come—and it was not very far off—when the joys of springtime would be known to all mankind.

For the present, however, this coming of spring is delayed in Western Europe by the continuance of capitalism, the Marshall Plan, the betrayal of socialism by the right-wing Socialist leaders, and so on. It is hard to say how long this stage of development in Western Europe will last—presumably, so the argument runs, till the Marshall Plan proves a failure. Meanwhile Russia will continue to demonstrate how everything is going in the right direction in the East and in the wrong direction in the West, and there will continue to be an interest in the "resistance movements" in the West and in all anti-capitalist activity, as there is today—whether it be the latest speech by Togliatti or the Platts-Mills case.

War is not considered likely. It is emphasized that what the Western powers are afraid of is not invasion of Western Europe by the Red Army but, as the Russians express it, "the growth of political consciousness among the masses of Western Europe." As for the democratic righteousness of the West, it is being constantly shown up through (a) the publication of Munich documents supposed to prove Britain's fraternization with Nazi Germany; (b) references to unpleasant things like the American tendency to include Franco Spain as a member of the "democratic West" and the mass shootings in Greece; and (c) demonstrations of such things as that the freedom of the press in Britain is nothing but a delusion, since it is owned by a handful of capitalists. (The emphasis is always on the "press lords"; the London weeklies or papers like the Manchester *Guardian*, the Glasgow *Herald*, or the *Scotsman* are not mentioned.)

The current issue of *New Times* expresses much satisfaction with Professor Namier's book, "Diplomatic Prelude, 1938-39," contending that it largely confirms the Russian view that the Chamberlain government had no intention of coming to a practical military agreement with the Soviet Union in the summer of 1939. The article argues that the British and French in fact encouraged the Poles to refuse to allow the entry of the Red Army into Poland in case of a German attack on that country and were thus instrumental in creating the greatest stumbling-block of all in the way of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet military alliance in 1939.

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At the same time the legend of Western decay continues to be cultivated. Thus a Catherine Shevelava writes in the Moscow *Bolshevik*, after visiting London:

> I was told that in Hyde Park I would see British democracy in action. In reality, it is full of cranks behaving like showmen at a village fair. When a real democrat starts speaking, he is nearly always pulled down from the platform by the police. An unemployed man, a tattered, dirty-looking wretch, said to me with a bitter laugh, "I have felt this real democracy on my own back."

Then, "on a rare, non-foggy night in London, in Pancras Road," she met a docker in a greasy jacket:

> He was whistling "Polushko-Polie," that Russian song so popular with the ordinary people of England. Noticing me, he gaily addressed me in the traditional English greeting, "How do you do?" and when he learned I was a Russian he asked me a thousand questions about Russia, the Stakhanovites, the Five-Year Plan, Moscow, and Stalin. In conclusion he said: "Comrade, I am an unofficial person, but even so I should like you to give the warmest greetings of the people of England to your splendid fellows who did so much to smash the Boche. And also—give our regards to Stalin." Then, shaking my hand, he vanished into the black jaws of the London underground.

Miss Sheveleva makes the not unexpected comment that this man was like the first ray of the sun piercing through the black night of capitalism.

Of Western culture she says only that if Shakespeare came to life today, he would be just as hard up as the Unity Theater she saw in London; her enumeration of new Western films is limited to some Hollywood shockers with blood-curdling titles.

Yet this "rotting Western world" still represents something, in terms of power, for it has the industrial might of America behind it. Moreover, there seems some doubt about how soon the slump will really come. Has Russia committed itself too deeply to the ideological conflict for at least a temporary *modus vivendi* between Eastern and Western Europe to become possible, or, for that matter, between the Soviet Union and the United States? In the last few weeks, especially since the Italian election, there has been talk of "détente" in many divergent quarters—among the Scandinavians, for instance, who were much reassured by the Soviet-Finnish treaty, among American diplomats, and among French Communists here. There is a tendency to look up old newspaper files for Stalin utterances on "the possibility of friendly competition between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries," which would in practice mean a sort of "prosperity race" between East and West. It must be said that until today there were no official Russian utterances suggesting such a *modus vivendi*, except that the ideological campaign had become positional rather than operational warfare as far as Europe was concerned, and that the tone of the press had become a great deal calmer than it was a month or two months ago.

World Government—Progress Report

BY GEORGE A. BERNSTEIN

II

UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS, the expanding world-government organization discussed in the first part of this article last week, is very clear in its desire to preserve the United Nations while strengthening it, and to include Russia in any plan for insuring peace through world law. Several smaller organizations seek to reform the U. N., but not all of them are as determined to save the whole world.

One such group, the Citizens' Committee for United Nations Reform, is directed by the indefatigable Ely Culbertson. It has attracted attention in recent months with a proposal known as the "Quota Force" or "ABC" plan, which is among those now receiving a hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Introduced in Congress on April 12 by a bi-partisan group of Senators and Representatives under the titles of S. C. R. 50 and H. C. R. 163, it lists three specific measures (hence "ABC") by which it believes effective cooperation under a reorganized U. N. could be obtained. These are: (a) the elimination of the veto in the Security Council in all matters of aggression and preparation for aggression; (b) control of atomic energy through an international atomic-development authority with powers of inspection, as in the Baruch plan; and (c) the establishment of a world police force. World armaments would be limited by the establishment of a quota for each nation (hence "Quota Force")—20 per cent of the total world armament production for each of the Big Three, 10 per cent each for France and China, and 20 per cent for all other nations combined. The police force would be made up of volunteers from the smaller states, with the armed forces of the five major powers serving as a reserve.

Recognizing the resistance which this plan would meet

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from Russia, C. C. U. N. R. declares that "if a major state . . . vetoes the proposed revisions of the U. N. Charter . . . the building of a strong United Nations will proceed without [it], leaving the door still open for [it] to join." Supporters of the plan feel confident that sooner or later the Soviet Union would find it to its interest to join. They wish to proceed with Russia if possible but without it if they must.

C. C. U. N. R. has two yardsticks by which it judges any proposal: Will it prevent war? And can it be carried out within the next three years? Any plan which cannot become effective in that time, C. C. U. N. R. feels, is academic. The organization has no paid organizers and collects no dues. Nevertheless, more than 15,000 Americans subscribe to its principles and receive its literature.

The guiding spirit of Federal Union is Clarence Streit, author of "Union Now." Streit hopes for an eventual world government in which all the member states will have accepted the principles of democracy, but he feels the initial step must be a federation of the democracies which exist today. Such a federation, according to F. U., can be built within the framework of the U. N., and would be so powerful that no nation or group of nations would dare to attack it. The concept of "peace through strength" is not new—during the war Streit's Union Now movement proposed a federation of the English-speaking nations. F. U. publishes a monthly magazine, *Freedom and Union,* and sponsors forums and meetings throughout the country, but it has not conducted a mass-membership drive. Some of its ideas are receiving serious consideration by the State Department, although our foreign-policy makers appear more interested in a loose military union of the E. R. P. nations than in an actual federation.

Of all the major organizations pressing for reform of the U. N., the American Association for the United Nations, which grew out of the League of Nations Association, makes the least sweeping proposals. The main purposes of A. A. U. N. are to educate the public in the structure and importance of the United Nations and to suggest measures to be enacted by the U. N. In recent months, however, even A. A. U. N. has realized that the United Nations is failing as an instrument to preserve world peace, and is working for its reform. Unlike other groups, A. A. U. N. holds that the problems of the world are not chiefly political but economic and sociological. Solutions for the issues that currently threaten world peace, A. A. U. N. believes, must be found within the framework of the United Nations. Abuse of the veto should be curbed by invoking Article 51 of the Charter rather than by calling a general conference for strengthening the U. N. under Article 109, a procedure favored by U. W. F. and other groups.

The director of the A. A. U. N. is Clark M. Eichelberger, who has been identified with international movements for many years. Mr. Eichelberger acknowledges that "everyone who believes in world peace today believes in some kind of world government," but he opposes any effort for revision of the Charter at this time "which would result in losing the Soviet Union and the nations associated with her." He believes it "more important to have the United Nations with the U. S. S. R. and the veto than to have the United Nations without the U. S. S. R. and without the veto." He also points out that the major difference between his group and the others is one of emphasis and timing, and demonstrates warm respect for U. W. F. and what it is trying to accomplish.

World Republic, an extremely active group largely composed of students and young veterans, has its headquarters in Chicago. It was the driving force behind the recent proclamation of "World Government Week" in Chicago and Minneapolis. Its members believe that world government can be achieved only by the action of the people independent of their national governments. It calls for a World People's Convention to draft and adopt a world constitution which can be submitted to the various national governments for ratification. World Republic has been called the "Children's Crusade" by members of other world-government organizations, but United World Federalists has indorsed the idea of a people's convention as a supplementary method of approach, and many European world-federalist groups are dedicated to this plan. The World Movement for World Federal Government, an international liaison organization, whose president, Jean Larmeroux of France, was elected at the first international convention last summer at Montreux, is going ahead with plans for a World People's Convention to be held at Geneva in 1950.

Eleven prominent educators in the United States and Canada, headed by Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, have been working for two and a half years on the draft of a world constitution which will be used as a tentative blueprint for discussion at Geneva. This constitution, largely the work of Professor G. A. Borgese of the University of Chicago, was printed in *Common Cause,* monthly magazine of the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, last March. It would divide the globe into nine electoral areas: Europa, containing all of Western Europe and the British Isles; Eurasia, containing Russia and the areas it dominates; Atlantis, containing the United States, Canada, and Alaska; Columbia, containing the remainder of North and South America; Afrasia, containing North Africa and most of the Near East; Africa, containing the rest of the continent; India; Asia Major, containing China, Japan, and Korea; and Austrasia, containing Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the South Pacific. Each area would nominate three candidates for president of the World Federation; the one who received a two-thirds majority in a secret ballot taken at a Fed-

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eral Convention would be elected. Each area would also present a list of candidates for the unicameral legislative body, called the Council. The president would be elected for six years and not be eligible for reelection. In military affairs he would be assisted by the Chamber of Guardians, a six-man commission elected by the legislature. Sixty justices would be appointed to a Grand Tribunal, which would elect seven of its members to a World Supreme Court. The Federal Convention, to which representatives would be elected by each area on the basis of one delegate for every 1,000,000 inhabitants or major fraction thereof, would meet once every three years in May for a thirty-day session.

IN MANY respects the movement for world government has made greater headway in other nations—particularly in England and the dominions—than it has in the United States. The new constitutions of France and Italy provide for the surrender of part of their national sovereignty to any world government that may be created. In the Netherlands a new political party was organized last February, called the Progressive Party for World Government. In England the most active supporter of world federation is the British Parliamentary Committee of the Crusade for World Government, whose general secretary is the dynamic member of Parliament Henry Usborne. The plan for the Geneva World People's Convention is generally known as the "Usborne plan" and has almost 100 advocates in Parliament. Prime Minister Attlee, Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, and Ernest Bevin have indorsed a world federation in one form or another.

Usborne and a fellow M. P., Ernest Millington, recently completed a tour of Scandinavia, during which they drummed up public and official interest in their plan. They found enthusiastic support wherever they went. Twenty-five members of Sweden's Rikstag decided to organize parliamentary support for Usborne's plan, and fourteen members of Norway's Storting are studying the idea. Denmark's Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and forty members of its Rigsdag met with Usborne and Millington and discussed the feasibility of combining the election of delegates to the Geneva convention with the official Danish elections.

Federalist groups have been formed in the parliaments of many European countries. More than 200 members of the parliaments of France and Italy, most of them from center parties, are enlisted in these groups. Significantly enough, they have so far failed to obtain support from the extreme right or the extreme left.

Of all world-government movements, however, perhaps the most interesting has sprung up in Germany. The World Movement for World Federal Government recently added two Germans to its twenty-nine-man council, Julius Stocky of Cologne and Joseph Heydecker of Munich. Stocky heads a group known as the Liga für Weltregierung, which includes among its members a number of professors, doctors, engineers, and former consular officials of the Reich. It is growing steadily, particularly in Cologne, and new chapters are being formed in a number of cities in western Germany. At a recent meeting aboard a houseboat on the Rhine the organization adopted a "Cologne Declaration" calling for support of the Usborne plan in Germany. Heydecker organized his group, known as the Weltstaat-Liga, after attending the Nürnberg trials as a newspaper correspondent. With a number of other German journalists there he looked for a way out of the chaos which they faced. Curiously enough, his inspiration came from a German who had been forced out of his homeland by the Nazis—Dr. Albert Einstein. One of the journalists happened to come across a brief news item describing an interview with the great physicist in which he said, "The establishment of a world government is the only possible solution for mankind. . . . As long as there are sovereign nations which can arm independently and have military secrets, further world wars cannot be prevented." Heydecker and his friends immediately drafted a manifesto calling for world government. Their first meeting was held in Munich with twenty-five people present. Since that time the organization has acquired 4,000 members in all four zones of Germany, held a convention attended by 115 delegates, including two from the Russian zone, and undertaken publication of an eight-page illustrated newspaper.

The first steps toward some sort of federation in Europe were taken, of course, at The Hague in May. Under the chairmanship of Winston Churchill the Congress of Europe called for the early convening of a European Assembly to advise upon measures to bring about the economic and political union of Europe. Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, who has long been identified with the movement for a United States of Europe, has recently begun to organize an American group to support a Western European federation. Many world federalists, although in general they wholeheartedly support E. R. P., are somewhat doubtful about the value of a "Western Union." Nevertheless, they are likely to go along with the idea as a starting-point for world federation, provided that the door be kept open for the eventual participation of Soviet Russia.

Advocates of world government are too realistic to believe that they will accomplish their aims overnight. But they are convinced that there is no other road to peace, and they are heartened by the vast number of people all over the world who flock to their standard. This much is certain: the movement for world government is based on a living idea. People in all countries have come to realize that another global war would destroy civilization.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Making of an American

PERSONAL EQUATION. By Albert Guérard. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

IN 1906, as a brilliant young Frenchman who had grown up in Paris and spent two years in England on a fellowship, Albert Guérard came to America. Since then, at Williams College, Stanford University, Rice Institute in Texas, the University of California at Los Angeles, and again Stanford—his second sojourn lasted twenty-one years—he has had a distinguished career as a professor of French literature and, later, as professor of general and comparative literature. Besides forming hundreds of young Americans to an appreciation of European culture and writing such books as "France: A Short History" and his study of "Napoleon III," he raised a family (his son is on the faculty of Harvard), served as an American officer in the First World War, and—above all to him—gradually became an American who can, with a curious blend of modesty and pride, call himself a typical John Doe.

But such facts are merely incidental in "Personal Equation." As the author says, "This is the record of my thought and not of my pleasant, uneventful career." It is not surprising that this spiritual autobiography devotes almost half its length to France. There it was—on the banks of the Seine, at the Collège Chaptal and the University of Paris, during the famous crisis of the Dreyfus Case—that his faith as a democratic, anti-national liberal was formed. England and America were only to fill out and strengthen that ardent faith, as time was to justify it. Albert Guérard's reflections on the United Nations and the atomic bomb are as cogent and consistent as his youthful ideas about Maurras, Jaurès, and Clemenceau, about war and the French claims on Alsace-Lorraine. In a pithy, memorable style he sets down excellent summaries of such as Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Woodrow Wilson, and F. D. R. Whether in literature or politics and diplomacy, his judgment is sound and always results from an established standard. It is not strange that his more than forty years as a professor of literature should have marked him; whatever his subject, he is steeped in literature. The old Cour des Comptes in Paris calls forth echoes of Hugo, Voltaire, and Melville, whereas the achievement of nuclear physics in our epoch evokes quotations from Raoul Glaber, Rabelais, and Keats.

This is the key to "Personal Equation." Not only in its wide reference to the arts of all countries and all ages but likewise in the clear thinking it evidences on every page, this book is a tribute to the broad international culture exemplified by Albert Guérard, which keeps him from being the typical nephew of Uncle Sam he fondly fancies himself to be. JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Franco's Role

THE MASQUERADE IN SPAIN. By Charles Foltz, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

MR. FOLTZ'S thesis is that the ruling classes in Spain, whom he calls "The Family," are merely using Franco as a tool for their own ends—hence the "masquerade"—and are ready to drop him and establish some sort of non-fascist dictatorship whenever the United States and Great Britain apply sufficient pressure to get Franco out.

Mr. Foltz, who covered the Spanish civil war as a correspondent with the Franco forces and afterward represented the Associated Press in Madrid from 1941 to 1946, brings forward a number of arguments in support of this theory. However, it is obviously an oversimplification of the problem. The Franco regime has wonderfully served the interests of both the industrialists and the landed proprietors of Spain, but these groups never concealed their dislike of the Falange's left-wing program, which was rather similar to the Nazis' program in their early days. Quite a few individuals among them foresaw Hitler's defeat and wanted Franco to hedge the bet accordingly.

However, no serious attempt was ever made to carry out those parts of the Falange program which annoyed the ruling classes, and the Franco regime for the moment is merely a particularly vicious example of the dictatorships which have cursed Spain for centuries. The ruling classes no doubt would turn against Franco if he attempted to give practical effect to the aims of the Falange, but there is little chance of that in present circumstances. Franco is busy trying to get himself included in the Marshall plan, and the wild men of the Falange have had to take a back seat. As the collapse of Don Juan's effort to regain the throne has demonstrated, the people who matter in Spain think that if Franco is good enough for the American State Department and the British Foreign Office he is good enough for them.

As Mr. Foltz points out, concerted pressure by the United States and Britain would certainly force Franco out. However, he is rather vague about what kind of regime would take Franco's place—he says merely that Spaniards don't want either the monarchy of 1876 or the republic of 1931. He seems to favor Indalecio Prieto as the leader of whatever regime takes over and reports with approval that Prieto and Gil Robles, Don Juan's representative, conferred with Bevin in October, 1947. According to Mr. Foltz, Dr. Negrín "is justly or unjustly considered by most Spaniards to have been the willing tool of the Communists during the civil war," and "is not popular in Spain."

In any event, it is useful to have Mr. Foltz's evidence that the Communist forces in Spain were weak before the civil war and are weak now. The Spanish Republic did come under Communist influence to some extent during the civil war, but that was simply because the democracies were carrying out their farce of non-intervention and only the Soviet Union was willing to help the cause of democracy against fascism. The same opportunity for Soviet interference exists today, or will exist as soon as the sufferings of the Spanish people—or a split in the army—produce another revolt. Although all the signs are to the contrary, we can still hope that the State

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Department and the Foreign Office will not make the same mistake twice.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

The Thought of Turtles

DESERT PARADE. A Guide to Southwestern Desert Plants and Wildlife. By William H. Carr. The Viking Press. $2.50.

THE SIERRA NEVADA: THE RANGE OF LIGHT. Edited by Roderick Peattie. With an Introduction by Donald Culross Peattie. The Vanguard Press. $4.50.

THE CATS OF WILDCAT HILL. By Charis Wilson and Edward Weston. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.75.

A MULTITUDE OF LIVING THINGS. By Lorus J. Milne and Margery J. Milne. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

ONE DAY AT TETON MARSH. By Sally Carrigher. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

"NATURE writing," a loose and not too attractive term, seems to be the only accepted designation for a vaguely defined section of belles-lettres which figures more prominently in publishers' catalogues than it does in surveys of current literature—partly no doubt because it does not quite seem to belong in anybody's department. Books so classified separate themselves fairly easily from "travel and description," but they tend, rather improperly, to include everything else from the How-to-know and How-to-tell manuals on the one hand to the predominantly philosophical lucubrations of, for example, Julian Huxley and J. B. S. Haldane on the other. Rather improperly, I say, because much so included is merely pure if elementary science, which ought not to be confused with what properly belongs in a special department of belles-lettres deserving recognition for itself. The criteria are, I should say, indicated in some such description as this: Writing which takes as its subject some aspect of life other than human but which is distinguished from science by the fact that an emotional attitude is sought for rather than avoided, and distinguished from pure mysticism or mere rhapsody by the fact that it takes as its starting-point some scientific observation or knowledge rather than simple intuition.

So defined, the genre is either relatively new or at least one which did not, until comparatively recent times, undergo any great development. Our remote ancestors read, to be sure, the moralized unnatural history of Physiologus; our grandfathers read, to be sure, the scientifically more veracious but hardly less desperately moralized pages of Wood's Natural History—of which the literary ancestors can be traced at least as far back as popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books about the wonders of God's providence as revealed in nature. But there is an essential difference between the assumption that nature merely "illustrates" accepted truths and the assumption, basic in the modern genre, that she has novel things to teach.

Even "The Natural History of Selbourne," often regarded as the first classic of nature writing, is possibly almost too cool to be more than a remote ancestor of books in the modern manner. Nearly fifty years before Gilbert White was writing, Réaumur was anticipating something of the emotional attitude of Fabre, but the difference between the two is a good illustration of the direction of development, and Paul Elmer More was perhaps right when he credited Thoreau with being the real inventor of a method of writing about nature which was new because it made wonder and awe the dominant emotional tone. Muir and Burroughs were rather directly in Thoreau's line, at least to the extent that they too were relatively little influenced by professional science, but today the nature writer is more likely to be, like Beebe and Julian Huxley, a man who became a scientist before he became a writer. And how many of our contemporaries there are who have made or attempted to make reputations as writers in a field which seems to unite science and literature! Donald Culross Peattie and Gustave Eckstein are two of the best known, but any recent list of a year's books would supply a score of titles.

Five new books about nature are listed at the head of this column. The first two are essentially illustrated guides, the one hardly more than a pleasant little picture book dealing principally with southern New Mexico and Arizona, the other a more ambitious, cooperative undertaking in which various authorities discuss both the scientific and the picturesque aspects of a noble mountain range. "The Cats of Wildcat Hill" includes a number of superb photographs in Weston's well-known style, plus an interesting and fairly extensive text by the co-maker of the book. It is addressed exclusively to that no doubt rather small segment of the public, to which the present reviewer happens to belong, the members of which can understand why anyone should want to have twenty or more cats about the house. It is full of observation—including the discovery that most cats, like most human beings, tend to feel that twenty members of the first species are too many for one establishment—but it belongs, perhaps, in the very special department of cat books rather than in the larger department of nature books. The other two volumes are, on the contrary, clearly recognizable as examples of the particular kind of writing I have been attempting to define.

In many respects the two are very different from each other. "A Multitude of Living Things" is the work of two young biology teachers, good at photography and with a genuine enthusiasm for direct observation. Most of their facts about pitcher plants and ghost crabs, sexton beetles and millipeds, are not new to science or, for that matter, to amateur naturalists. But in an unassuming way the authors manage to get a certain sense of immediacy in their communications and to suggest things seen rather than merely things read about.

"One Day at Teton Marsh" is much more ambitious both stylistically and in other ways. The author—who has published also a previous, highly praised book on a quite similar plan—deliberately removes herself and all human things from the scene in an attempt to recreate through the minds of the animals involved their experience of living during one eventful day. Being well aware of the scientist's horror of the anthropomorphic, she somewhat priggishly substitutes phrases like "his nerves told him" for the more natural "he thought" or "he decided," but the effect is, nevertheless, not too different from that of Ernest Seton-Thompson, who pioneered and popularized one kind of writing about animals. In Beebe or Peattie, on the other hand, the presence

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actually in the foreground of a half-alien and wondering human observer is the means through which a certain effect is achieved.

But different as "One Day at Teton Marsh" and "A Multitude of Living Things" are from each other and from Beebe or Peattie, they are expressions of the conviction that man still has strong emotional ties with non-human life—a conviction expressed by one of the most unimpeachable of academic scientists, William Morton Wheeler, when he rebuked the detachment of his fellow-workers in a now famous passage which the Milnes quote. "Why animals and plants are what they are we shall never know, of how they have come to be what they are our knowledge will always be extremely fragmentary—but that organisms are as they are, that apart from the members of our own species they are our only companions in an infinite and unsympathetic waste of electrons, planets, nebulae, and suns, is a perennial joy and consolation."

Probably most of those who buy and read "nature books" as they fall from the presses along with our countless novels and poems and treatises and exhortations are only dimly aware why they do so, but it may be that the very existence of the genre means more than is commonly realized. Certain artists and certain scientists seem determined that mankind shall break the few remaining links which join us with other living but non-human things. We should, they seem to imply, forget the animal childhood of the race, give up the less and less practicable attempt to draw either emotional or aesthetic satisfaction from a realm which the machine and the city are making more and more irrelevant to us. The man-made object and the man-defined aim are proposed as things soon to be all-important and all-sufficient. Our maturity and our freedom are envisaged as possible only when we have ceased entirely to think or to feel related to anything except ourselves.

There are others, however, who want to understand a little better what it is that we are asked to say goodby to. No doubt we shall in the future have more dealings with automobiles than with horses, with concrete and plastic than with grass. The cube and the sphere and the cone will, for most children, be known before the tree or the flower. But dare we break the last link and cut the last thread? Do we want to be left alone with geometry and ourselves? Or do we prefer somehow to acknowledge and remain aware of the protoplasmic fellowship which is the most ancient to which we belong? The decision may be as momentous as any we have ever made. It may, in fact, be that which underlies all other choices concerning what the future of the human race will be like. And there are some of us who find even a chimpanzee easier to understand than a commissar. We may be liquidated in time, but we have survived so far, and we know what Thoreau meant by his brooding over "the unspeakable rain" and how he consoled himself with the thought of turtles when the behavior of the most social as well as most anti-social of animals was more than he could endure.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Censure of History

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE COMING OF THE WAR, 1941. A Study in Appearances and Realities. By Charles A. Beard. Yale University Press. $5.

IN 1913, with his "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," Charles A. Beard wrought a revolution in historiography by endowing the historian with the method, the right, and above all the courage to go behind appearances and seize upon the determining realities. He declared that the monism of the nationalists or the racists was a moral pretense which could not account for the complete situation. To account for all things—events, men, and utterances; that was the task! Beard inaugurated an epoch in American thinking simply by announcing, "The real state is not the juristic state but is that group of per-

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sons able to work together effectively for the accomplishment of their joint aims, and to overcome all opposition on the particular point at issue at a particular time."

Thereupon it became the historian's job to stand wholeheartedly, confidently with reality. Genuine objectivity became possible precisely because he was obliged to become an unabashed partisan of the controlling direction. Appearances, for the historian, acquired a new value as indicators of reality, and implicit in Beard's teaching, as many of us have taken deeply to heart, was the assurance that he who is wise enough to decipher the indications will not give way to indignation when he finds that there are, as there must be, deviations of official theses from realities. History no longer need be censured; we might now encounter it without fear, for thanks to Beard we could, as Harold Laski puts it, build our history soundly upon intelligible foundations.

In the present volume, a sequel to "American Foreign Policy in Making, 1932-1940," Beard arraigns Franklin Roosevelt for perpetrating a gigantic fraud. In this case appearance is Roosevelt's promise of peace; reality is his super-Machiavellian effort to get the Germans to start the fight in the Atlantic, and failing that, to inveigle the hapless Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor. The ultimatum to Japan on November 26 "represented comprehensive designs of power politics which had no support in the anti-war pledges of President Roosevelt." The book, made up of copious extracts from newspapers, speeches, Congressional investigations, is a philippic, an oration against Cataline. Reality is now a con game that must be exposed and prosecuted. And the hoax was put over on the American people in a world bounded entirely by America; "Japan was, no doubt, regarded as an associate of Hitler and Mussolini," but in Beard's treatment these three powers remain passive bystanders until provoked to strike. The Republic, therefore, is now in mortal danger, and Caesar is upon us.

As must every historian of this generation I account myself a child of Beard. But in the presence of this work I can only pray to whatever divinity presides over the profession that I may not grow old and embittered and end by projecting my personal rancor into the tendency of history. If history does not fulfil the hope, no matter how intense the grief, may I not let vindictiveness take the place of divination. May analysis of underlying realities never become a frenzy against appearances; may comprehension not so fail that the historical method, being transformed by a rhetorical device into a way of establishing, at any cost, a private righteousness, becomes a way of blaming persons instead of processes or of vilifying those who cope, however imperfectly, with the demonic forces of their time.

PERRY MILLER

Negroes at the Polls

BALANCE OF POWER: THE NEGRO VOTE. By Henry Lee Moon. Doubleday and Company. $3.

THIS book presents a double-barreled thesis which may upset many a political calculation, and many a candidacy, when the votes are counted next November. Developing a mass of pertinent historical and current data in well-paced, clear, and direct prose, Mr. Moon claims, first, that "in a close election" the Negro "may hold the balance of power" this year. In twelve crucial states out of twenty-eight in which a 5 per cent shift in votes might have elected Dewey instead of Roosevelt in 1944, Mr. Moon says that "the potential Negro vote exceeds the number required to shift the states from one column to the other." He predicts that 3,500,000 Negroes will go to the polls this fall—an amazing number, from any statistical point of view, which highlights the author's dramatic story of how Negroes are gradually regaining the franchise wrested from them after Reconstruction by white Republicans as well as white Democrats. Of these Negro voters, 2,500,000 live outside the South, a great majority in "balance-of-power states" like New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California. This voting power, Mr. Moon contends, "is more decisive . . . than that of the Solid South."

To what party or candidate will these voters flock? Making his second major point, Mr. Moon declares that "the Negro vote today is in the vest pocket of no party." Franklin D. Roosevelt lured the mass of Negroes away from the Republicans, but Truman, despite his brave espousal of civil rights, has lost the confidence of many Negroes by his failure to act. Among Republicans "Dewey is regarded as having the best record . . . on racial issues," but should Taft, Martin, Vandenberg, or Stassen be the G. O. P. candidate, it is not likely that more than a handful of Negroes would return to the Republican fold. Wallace's "popularity rests more upon his pronouncements-than upon his record of performance"; Mr. Moon believes that colored support for him "would only be a gesture of protest and despair, an acknowledgment of defeat and hopelessness."

This very division among Negroes may nullify their chance of swinging the election this fall. To be decisive the Negro vote must be comparable to that cast for Roosevelt in 1944, but at present it is split among all three parties. The inescapable conclusion is that only a realignment of forces—which is not altogether impossible in this fantastic election year—can draw the bulk of Negroes into a single camp and thus enable them to be the deciding factor.

On what terms can the Negro vote be won by a party or candidate? Tracing the history of corrupt voting among both blacks and whites, Mr. Moon states that neither money, favors, nor jobs will persuade Negroes to go down the line for anyone. They will cast their ballots only for those who can offer real promise of improving the condition of the race, which in the last analysis means improving, sometimes in a very direct way, the personal lot of each colored voter. Furthermore, Negroes are becoming aware that their welfare is contingent upon that of society as a whole, and will judge parties and candidates according to their stand on price control as well as on Jim Crow. In short, Negroes tend to vote liberal nowadays, asserts Mr. Moon, and this means that they will be drawn toward such natural allies as organized labor and the liberals. Negro-liberal-labor alliances in the South and North alike have already scored significant though limited successes, and if, as Mr. Moon and this reviewer hope, the Negro collaborates on a nation-wide scale with liberal-labor forces, together they may determine the

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political character of the next Congress.

"Balance of Power" records astonishing political progress among Southern Negroes. Not only are Southern colored voters rapidly increasing in number, but the old patterns of submission are fast wearing off—a trend accelerated by the return of Negro veterans—and it is no longer unusual to find black men standing up for their electoral rights in normally lynch-bound communities. Mr. Moon predicts that by 1956 Negroes will be voting "in all the major Southern cities as freely as they do in Boston or Detroit or San Francisco." This is of transcendental importance because, as the author concludes, "so long as the vast majority of Negroes continue to reside in the South, that region will hold the key to the destiny of the race." To that of the white race too, I may add.

DANIEL JAMES

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE rise of Bonnard's reputation during the last two decades is one of the most spectacular phenomena of the "modern" art market. The evidence presented by the current full-dress show at the Museum of Modern Art (through July 25) justifies this rise and attests to the good judgment of the dealers, collectors, and critics responsible for it. Yet one wonders why, at least in this country and England, Vuillard, whose painting has so much in common with Bonnard's, should still remain more or less overlooked. Whatever the failings of his old age, Vuillard was a master too.

The problem offered by the Bonnard exhibition concerns Vuillard—and Boucher and Fragonard as well. On the evidence presented here Bonnard is almost a major painter, but not quite. Sensuousness, paint quality, color, and an original approach to composition are all present; also taste and erudition. But some final intensity is missing. Bonnard paints more suavely and generously than Matisse or Picasso, but he does not establish the bold, lucid, incandescent structures by which those two masters fix us to the spot, touch new feelings, and expand our consciousness of the possibilities of art. It is all too easy to dispose of the problem by referring to Bonnard's *intimisme*, his motifs, the domestic minutiae, the comforts and discreet pleasures of sedentary bourgeois life; by saying that he is a lesser painter because his aspirations were less "heroic." There is truth in all this, but it does not explain enough. After all, Matisse was something of an *intimiste* too.

The question why an artist who painted as consummately as Bonnard should have failed quite to attain major quality is perhaps best to be explained by a certain aspect of French tradition. France knew for a time other painters of magnificent gifts who seem likewise to have failed to get the most out of themselves. I think of Boucher, Fragonard, and even Greuze. These painters succeeded, they were not *manqués* like Andrea del Sarto or Murillo; they added something, and their handling of paint remains a marvel forever. But one still asks why, given their powers, they did not do more. I believe the answer lies outside the artists themselves. Boucher and Fragonard were reassured and confirmed in their desire to please by the relatively high standards of a cultivated audience that knew and was very much interested in painting. Any but the most idiosyncratic and visionary painter would have rested content with its approbation. Do we not see how even Chardin, who in the same period painted for a somewhat different audience, less corrupt but also less cultivated, accepted certain restraints that prevented him from taking that place among the very greatest painters to which he was entitled by his genius? The case has been similar, I feel, for Bonnard. He too was unable to escape his audience.

There are, of course, great differences. Bonnard did not lack ambition, and he was a perfectionist within his limits; during the last half of his life he strove for a large, monumental kind of decorative painting that involved him in risks and failures. But unlike Matisse, who is cold, undistracted, and full of arrogant purpose, he never managed altogether to transcend the taste of the milieu that sold and bought his work, a milieu that as a whole stood aside from the development of modern art after 1910 and refused to assign itself any more important purpose than the refinement of its daily life. These bourgeois aesthetes knew painting better than anyone else did, and unlike their predecessors in the eighteenth century they did not ask it to satisfy illegitimate demands. Whereas Boucher and Fragonard anthropomorphized the inanimate and rendered it like living flesh to make their pictures even more erotic, Bonnard could render the animate as though it were inanimate, as though it were nothing more than paint on canvas; and his audience was satis-

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fied to have it that way. (Still, it is significant that his nudes, pleasure objects among other pleasure objects, are more erotic somehow than Renoir's.)

But much as Bonnard's audience delighted in the purely culinary pleasures of painting, it did not want him to provide more than was asked for. And it was their taste for decoration and their antipathy for the divergent that Bonnard never outgrew. He experimented within the limits set for him, but he did not try very hard to break through them.

The pictures at the Museum of Modern Art seduce and warm us with their luxury, the paradoxical ease and measure of their shallow and airless depths; but the show does not contain what I would call a supreme masterpiece, nothing that sums itself up and conveys itself so densely and self-evidently as, say, Matisse's "Goldfish" of 1915-16, or one of Picasso's best cubist paintings, or a good Mondrian. These form the standard by which I find that Bonnard falls slightly short.

But only slightly. There are some superb pictures, and there may be even better ones that are not present; or at least pictures that reveal sides of Bonnard's art which go unrepresented in the present exhibition (a middle-sized, vertical green landscape in the Phillips Memorial Gallery in Washington, rather unlike anything at the Museum of Modern Art, shows Bonnard handling color in shallow depth with a crispness, compactness, and felicity that only Matisse has rivaled). Still, there is enough to feed one's eyes on. Some of Bonnard's still lifes here are among the best things ever done in the genre: the "Grapes" of 1928, the "Checkered Tablecloth" of 1936. And again I am sure that pictures equal to these, if not better, have been left out of this show—which, as I have already intimated, could have been better selected.

Bonnard's limp, deliberately "accidental" composition is responsible for some of his best effects, but sometimes it is a way of avoiding the effort, risks, and study involved in the pursuit of intensity. The blues in the "Abduction of Europa" of 1919 build up to an astounding and large magnificence, which is reinforced by what seems the inadvertent simplicity of the composition; yet one can almost see the artist hesitating over the pale creams and pinks in the foreground and refraining from accenting them for fear of losing spontaneity by pushing the problem to the point where it would be necessary to study more carefully the contours that the pale shapes cut against the blues. And in the "Corner of a Table" of 1935 the artist seems to accept the too wide red band made by the table or tablecloth for fear, again, of losing the quality of inadvertence; yet it is obvious to anyone that the excessive size of the band spoils what is otherwise a beautifully painted still life.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RCA Victor's Heritage Series, handled properly, would reissue really and impressively outstanding examples of the great vocal performance done by famous singers of the so-called golden age, together with any discovered examples of such performance by singers who have been forgotten. Instead the series, handled badly, has reissued for the most part records of famous singers without regard for the quality of their performances, many of which have been undistinguished or worse; and, most recently, records of forgotten singers without exceptional qualities to justify their republication. It was not until the fourth group of the series that the great John McCormack *Il mio tesoro* from "Don Giovanni" (15-1015, $2.50) and Hempel-Amato "Traviata" duet (15-1020) were reissued; and as it happened the public did not hear about them because this particular group was not sent to reviewers. As it happens also, the McCormack record offers on the reverse side a performance of an aria from "The Daughter of the Regiment" in which he does some tricky phrasing for vocal display; and you will therefore do better to get the original H. M. V. pressing of *Il mio tesoro* (DB-324, $2.65), which has on the reverse side his astounding *Una furtiva lagrima* from "Elisir d'amore" (how astounding you will realize when you listen to its beautiful style after the extravagances of Caruso's performance).

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the reissue of the Homer-Caruso fourth-act duet from "Aida" (15-1025) (though we know enough about Caruso and Homer, and it would have been better to reissue something like the Gadski-Amato duet from "Il Trovatore"). The superb style of Journet's singing of an excerpt from "La Favorita" (15-1026) make it the best of his reissued performances thus far (and we also know enough about Journet); there is similar style in the use of a fine voice in Maurice Renaud's *Vision fugitive* from "Herodiade" (15-1021); the authority of Sembrich's singing, with none of the beauty which the voice may have had in its prime, is all that is transmitted by her record of arias from "Ernani" and "Linda di Chamounix" (15-1027); and Titta Ruffo's record (15-1028) of *Per me giunto* from "Don Carlos" conveys something of the exceptional power of his voice.

But Riccardo Martin's *O Souverain* from "Le Cid" (15-1029) offers only a good, but by no means exceptional, voice which is used with taste; the De Lucia record (15-1024) offers only his outrageous distortions of phrase without the beauty which the voice may have had; there is nothing to explain the reissue of the Goritz *Blick ich umher* from "Tannhäuser" (15-1030); nor is there anything outstanding to justify the reissue of records by two forgotten singers, Janet Spencer (15-1022) and Olympia Boronat (15-1023).

Blick ich umher and *O du, mein holder Abendstern* from "Tannhäuser" (dull music) are to be had beautifully sung by Berglund with an orchestra under Blech (RCA Victor 12-0185, $1.25). Also, the final scene from "Die Walküre," with some of the better music of that work, is well performed by the London Symphony under Karl Rankl and well sung—though with a voice that shows wear and strain in its upper range—by Paul Schöffler; and the performance is excellently reproduced (English Decca Set 46, $5.25). Janssen's voice, in the fine Baptism Song from "Die Meistersinger" (Columbia 72518-D, $1.25), hasn't the beauty of Schorr's on the old Victor record; and the performance of the lovely Quintet on the reverse side by Stoska, Ralf, Janssen, Glaz, and Garris has the beauty of Stoska's voice, but not the wonderful phrasing of Elisabeth Schumann and the beautiful blending of all the voices, including Melchior's and Schorr's, in the ensemble, which is to be heard on the old Victor record. The performances with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Max Rudolf are well reproduced.

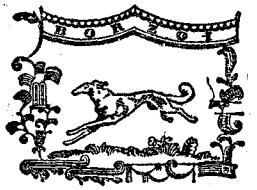
Stoska's voice in her Columbia set (X-294, $3.50) is fresh and lovely in the Composer's Aria from Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos," a bit of late-Straussian luxuriantly arid commotion, in the pretty Lute Song from Korngold's "Die Tote Stadt," and in the quiet opening passages of the aria from Weber's "Der Freischütz"; but it loses beauty and has a strong tremolo in the rest of that aria. The performances with the Metropolitan Orchestra under Rudolf are well reproduced.

Tagliavini's performance of *Parmi veder le lagrime* from "Rigoletto" in his Victor set (VO-13, $5 for vinylite) is breathtaking as an example of the natural, unforced production of subtly-colored tone he is capable of, and of the style that this kind of singing can be raised to. For the rest, however, the voice exhibits its beauty and power in a tearful aria from Cilèa's "L'Arlésiana"; is dry and without the splendor called for in the opening section of *O Paradiso* from Meyerbeer's "L'Africana"; and is put through a lot of tricks in *Una furtiva lagrima* from "Elisir d'amore." The performances with an orchestra under Dorati are excellently reproduced.

The Lily Pons performances of arias from "The Barber of Seville," "Le Coq d'or," and others (Columbia Set 740, $4.75) are something to avoid, with her interpolations of additional florid passages, her ho-ho-ho-ing and ha-ha-ha-ing, her tremolo.

The excellent performances of Menotti's "The Telephone" and "The Medium" by the original casts are well reproduced (Columbia Set 726, $15).

William H. Seltsam's "Metropolitan Opera Annals" (H. W. Wilson, $7) offers the history of opera in the Metropolitan in the form of the cast of every performance given there by the regular company from the opening of the building to the end of the 1946-7 season; and I have found this bare record fascinating to read. It is as accurate as the author's conscientiousness could make it—which is to say that there are some inaccuracies caused by the fact that a last-minute



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change in cast was not recorded in program or press. Thus, the available records make Toscanini the conductor of Massenet's "Manon" on Saturday afternoon, February 13, 1915; but I was there, and it was an occasion about which to remember that Caruso and Farrar sang and not Toscanini but Polacco conducted. After each season's compilation of casts there are excerpts from the press comments on the season's important occasions, which also make interesting reading.

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Next Week

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Catholic Labor View of the Blanshard Articles

Dear Sirs: Work, a monthly magazine published by the Catholic Labor Alliance, in its May issue ran a story which should interest readers of *The Nation:*

The Illinois Catholic War Veterans did a surprising thing at their annual convention in Peoria last month. They "pinned a medal" on the Chicago *Herald-American* [Hearst] for its fight against communism. . . . We'd like to refer the Catholic Veterans to a quotation from a speech given by Father William McManus, assistant director of the education department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference:

"I submit that if the Catholic War Veterans and the Knights of Columbus want *The Nation* banned from the Newark public schools, then they ought to ask at the same time for a ban of the *United States News, Fortune,* and other big-business magazines which in issue after issue publicize a social and economic philosophy contrary to the social teachings of the Catholic church.

"This is not to imply that *The Nation's* economic and social philosophy always squares with the social teachings of the church. In my opinion, the Catholic church has much more to fear from the slick, secular twaddle in the supposedly respectable magazines than from an occasional slamming around in *The Nation.*"

We ask the War Veterans if the *Herald-American* isn't one of those "respectable" newspapers that regularly sell unions down the river.

Chicago, June 2 HOMER A. JACK

The "Irresponsible" Critic

Dear Sirs: Randall Jarrell once before left me for dead on the dueling ground which he likes to make of reviewing, and I for one am damned if I will let him get away with attempted murder again (in his Verse Chronicle of May 8). It has come to a point where poetry needs a Public Defender against this self-appointed judge and executioner—and it is certainly time that his credentials were examined.

Everybody knows of course that he can be very witty, and at times very funny, and he gives signs of becoming perhaps a good poet: but I suggest that these are not the only or the best qualifications for a good critic. And if Mr. Jarrell is witty, or funny, it is almost invariably with malice, and with manners that I can only describe as a desire to be personally offensive. (See parts of his inexcusable review of Miss Rukeyser.)

One begins to wonder, in fact, whether Mr. Jarrell is not the victim of some sort of Private Predicament: as if for some reason in himself—perhaps he will take us into his confidence—he is condemned in advance to condemn in advance, and therefore to look with glee for faults about which he can be funny rather than with love for virtues which can be praised. One wonders even whether he isn't *afraid* of poetry, or of those elements of the poetic which elude him, or differ from his own—one wonders whether perhaps it is *only* his own poetry which he can with entire safety admire, lest he find himself all alone in a world a little too big for him. The result is a kind of review which is not only wholly unreliable but wilfully misleading: it is simply not Mr. Jarrell's *aim* to see, or tell, the truth: he is completely irresponsible.

Luckily for his victims, and unluckily for Mr. Jarrell, the truth is in the end objectively ascertainable in these matters, and his exercises in malicious preciosity and highbrow autointoxication will be recognized for what they are: the attempts of one who is himself insecure to keep up intellectual appearances. It is the prevalence of this sort of smart-alec and pretentious parti-pris reviewing that still prevents our having a single good critical paper in the country, one that can be relied on in advance for criticism that is informed without being bigoted or personally biased, which combines an ordered sense of the past with a knowing gusto for the contemporary, and is based on trained perceptions and disciplined taste. And Mr. Jarrell is by long odds the worst example.

CONRAD AIKEN

Brewster, Mass., May 14

The "Serious" Critic

Dear Sirs: In the last few years I've written favorable or admiring reviews and articles about Robert Frost, Marianne Moore, William Carlos Williams, William Butler Yeats, Dylan Thomas, W. H. Auden, Elizabeth Bishop, John Crowe Ransom, Tristan Corbière, Robert Graves, Walter de la Mare, Robert Lowell, R. P. Blackmur, and others; I'd have written similar reviews of T. S.

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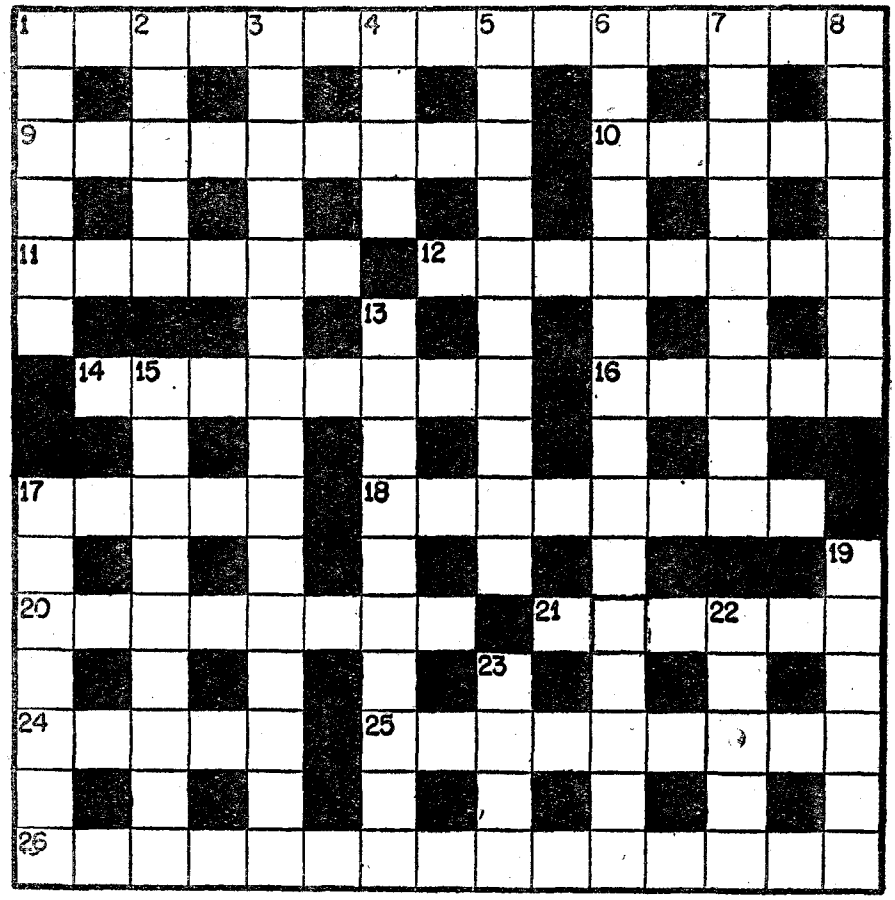
Eliot, Wallace Stevens, William Empson, Louis MacNeice, and Allen Tate if I'd been given their poetry to review; and there are at least a dozen other contemporary poets who have written poems that I admire very much. Some of the earlier poets that I love or admire are Wyatt, Chaucer, Campion, Raleigh, Marlowe, Middleton, Jonson, Webster, whoever wrote the additions to "The Spanish Tragedy," Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert, Marvell, Milton, Pope, Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Tennyson, Arnold, Whitman, Dickinson, Melville, Hopkins, and Hardy.

I have had people write unfavorable reviews of my own poems, so I know how Mr. Aiken feels; my readers may have had people make unfavorable remarks about their wives or children or cats—if they have, they will know how Mr. Aiken feels. But there is a kind of scope and vigor, of *poetry,* in Mr. Aiken's description of me that I'll bet my readers couldn't match—I certainly couldn't myself. Like most reviewers, I found little of this scope and vigor in Mr. Aiken's last book; but there is a good deal in some of his earlier poems, and there ought to be a good deal in his future poems—as you can see, Mr. Aiken is no extinct volcano. I may be mistaken about his book; I *may* be wrong in admiring the poets I've listed; but I don't think so—and if there's any mistake, it's a perfectly serious, disinterested, good-hearted mistake. (It is always hard for poets to believe that one says their poems are bad not because one is a fiend but because their poems are bad.) Reviewing poetry is hard work—I read "The Kid" three times; if Mr. Aiken isn't more charitable toward my mistakes about his work, I shall have, in the end, to give up reviewing his poetry altogether.

When we read the criticism of any past age, we see immediately that the main thing wrong with it is an astonishing amount of what Eliot calls "fools' approval"; most of the thousands of poets were bad, most of the thousands of critics were bad, and they loved each other. Our age is no different. Pope says that when he wrote unfavorably about mediocre poets they would indignantly aver that he didn't like *any* poetry: "How did they fume, and stamp, and roar, and chafe! And swear not ADDISON himself was safe." The two dejected, matter-of-fact sentences I wrote about "The Kid" have made Mr. Aiken write a letter that would do credit to any of them; the many enthusiastic and admiring pages I have recently written about Frost and Corbière and "Pater-

Crossword Puzzle No. 266

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Show-offs. (15)
9 One of the markings of a Capone. (9)
10 Swore it couldn't be better. (5)
11 When good at sports, they're sporting. (6)
12 Only a single reed blows in the wind. (8)
14 These are a must in entertainment. (8)
16 Robin that seems to have flown in time to a tune. (5)
17 They helped chant Sir Joseph's praises. (5)
18 Swift traveller. (8)
20 Female-rodent on a chair, or its designer. (8)
21 Steal back around the trouble. (6)
24 I am on to her, and her book! (5)
25 Frederic rose from it in the "Pirates of Penzance." (9)
26 Tells indirectly how many laps there might be at the stadium races. (7, 8)

DOWN

1 With a hammer, one sees red. (6)
2 The parts of the bottle that are stoppers. (5)
3 Conductor of trains or auction. (6, 9)
4 I don't pass the same thing again. (4)
5 Things that have their good points are crafty at last, unnecessarily so. (10)
6 You don't mean the vicinity of Hollywood by this. (5, 10)
7 Common contraction. (9)
8 Look for this when it rains. (7)
13 Budding and burning, with little George inside. (10)
15 A certain state nominates ..... (9)
17 ..... Stassen, and I'll bet he does this! (7)
19 A fish to cook around the outside, given gratuitously. (6)
22 Spirits appear some time before one. (5)
23 Greek form of a die. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 265

ACROSS:—1 TERPSICHOREAN; 10 NORWICH; 11 REGATTA; 12 EMITTER; 13 PULASKI; 14 DOG-TROT; 15 TORONTO; 16 ALLOWED; 20 ENCASES; 23 NEMESIS; 24 CHATEAU; 25 SHATTER; 26 TRAILER; 27 COBBLERS BENCH.
DOWN:—2 EARNING; 3 POINTER; 4 INHERIT; 5 HARD-PUT; 6 REGULAR; 7 ARTISAN; 8 IN DEAD EARNEST; 9 MADISON SQUARE; 17 LUMBAGO; 18 WASHTUB; 19 DESERVE; 20 EXCITES; 21 CHARADE; 22 SHELLAC.

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son" and "Lord Weary's Castle" have made so little impression on him that he doesn't even remember their existence. These were the wrong poems, the wrong poets, for this particular poet to notice praise of. RANDALL JARRELL
Greensboro, N. C., May 20

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